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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VIII.

October, 1913---July, 1914

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
EDITOR

Columbia, Missouri
1914

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CONTENTS.

Book Notices.....65, 105, 164
Civil War in Missouri, by Capt. Geo. S. Grover..... 1
Death Notices from Missouri Intelligencer, April, 1819, to Dec., 1835 113
Early Missouri Roads, by G. C. Broadhead..... 90
Echoes of Indian Emigration, by David W. Eaton.....93, 142, 198
Famous Goose Case, by N. T. Gentry..... 100
First Soldier Paper, by Edgar White..... 223
First Threshing Machine Across the Mountains, by H. F. Grinstead. 54
Fort Orleans, the First French Post on the Missouri, by M. F. Stipes. 121
From Senator Doolittle's Papers, by Duane Mowry..... 227
Glance Over the Field of Music in Missouri, by Mrs. Susan A. Arnold McCausland..... 206
Historical Sketch of Shelby County, by W. O. L. Jewett..... 154
Hon. David Barton, by Samuel W. Ravenel..... 216
Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, Twelfth Paper.... 55
Thirteenth Paper..... 111
Mormon Troubles in Carroll County, by Susan H. Whiteman..... 220
Necrology.....66, 110, 173, 243
Notes.....63, 102, 170, 230
Old Missouri Town, Napton, by Rollins Bingham..... 211
Old Town of Elizabeth, by Ovid Bell..... 86
Recollections of Thomas H. Benton, by L. T. Collier..... 136
Report of the Committee on Old Landmarks of Jefferson County, by John L. Thomas..... 29
Schuyler Letters, Duane Mowry..... 44
Sketches of Livingston County, No. 4, by L. T. Collier..... 35
Wetmore's Diary of a Journey to Santa Fe, by F. F. Stephens..... 177
Value and Sale of the Missouri Slave, by Harrison A. Trexler..... 69

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VOL. VIII. OCTOBER, 1913. NO. 1.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI GENERAL

PUBLISHED BY

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $1.00 PER YEAR.
ISSUED QUARTERLY.

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER, AT COLUMBIA, MO., JULY 18, 1907.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

EDITOR

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

Committee on Publication:
JONAS VILES, ISIDOR LOEB, F. A. SAMPSON.

VOL. VIII. OCTOBER, 1913. NO. 1.

CONTENTS.

Civil War in Missouri, by Capt. George S. Grover, 1

Report of Committee on Old Landmarks, by Judge John L. Thomas, - - - 29

Sketches of Livingston County, by L. T. Collier, 35

Schuyler Letters from Mowry Collection, - - 44

First Threshing Machine Across the Mountains, by H. F. Grinstead, - - - - - 54

Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, Twelfth Paper, - - - - - - 55

Notes, - - - - - - - - - - 63

Book Notices, - - - - - - - - 65

Necrology, - - - - - - - - - 66

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 8 OCTOBER, 1913. NO. 1

CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI.[1]

Commander, comrades, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been well said, and that, too, by an American, that

> "We may build more splendid habitations,
> Fill our rooms with paintings and with sculptures,
> But we cannot buy with gold the old associations."

It is a comforting thought to many of us, for whom "life's shadows are growing long," that there yet remains, in this commercial age, a few things too precious by far to be estimated upon a money basis. And of these, the most priceless heritage of all, next to the love of a good woman, is the memory of the stirring days of 1861, when, in the springtime of youth and vigor, we wore the blue uniform of the volunteer army of the United States, and helped to destroy forever, upon her soil, the dogma of secession and the right of property in man.

And what part or lot had the great commonwealth of Missouri in this memorable struggle? It is high time that her glorious history was better understood, especially by the generation which has come upon the stage of active life since that time.

In the census of 1860, the great states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts and

1. Address of Capt. Geo. S. Grover before the Col. Grover Post, No. 78, G. A. R. at Warrensburg, Missouri, November 4, 1893.

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PURCHASE
34

Missouri ranked in the order named as to population, Missouri having the seventh place.

It might be well, at the risk of exhausting your patience, to refer briefly to the slavery question, the real cause of our civil war.

We of America are indebted to England and Holland for the origin of this gigantic evil, as it was introduced upon this continent by these two maritime nations. It existed in New England, and in New York and Pennsylvania, as well as in the South, during the war of the Revolution, and no issue was then raised concerning it. But the Puritans in New England, the Holland Dutch in New York, and the Quakers in Pennsylvania, soon destroyed it within their respective boundaries after achieving their independence.

When the Northwestern Territory, now the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, was formed in 1787, after a bitter struggle, the proviso was inserted, and passed both houses of Congress, "that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted" there. Thus those great states came into the Union free. By reason of the purchase from France, in 1803, of that vast domain then known as the Louisiana Territory, the question of the further continuation of slavery there, brought on the contest which terminated only in Lee's surrender at Appomattox, in 1865. The states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida came into the Union as slave territory; but in 1820, when Missouri applied for admission, the controversy as to whether she should be slave or free shook the nation from center to circumference. It was finally settled by a compromise, which inflicted the curse of slavery upon the great state of Missouri, but which admitted Iowa and Minnesota as free states. Like all compromises, however, upon great moral questions, it satisfied nobody, and left wounds behind it which time could never heal. The annexation of Texas as slave territory then followed, with the admission of California and Oregon as free states. Then came the struggle over Kansas and Nebraska. These two territories were fairly debatable

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ground, as they were both south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of latitude, the boundary fixed in the Missouri compromise as the "dead line" between freedom and slavery.

Emigrants from both North and South poured into these territories, especially into Kansas, and "chaos came again" upon that unhappy land between 1856 and 1861. The followers of freedom prevailed, and then the haughty Southern Oligarchy realized at last, what they had long feared, that slavery could not be maintained in the new territories beyond the Missouri river, and that its end was only a question of time. Then came the scheme of secession, to which the Democratic party in the South was fully committed, as well as to the maintenance of slavery in the new territories as well as in the South. The northern democracy attempted to evade the question, by adopting the elusive theory of Stephen A. Douglas, then United States senator from Illinois, called popular sovereignty, which referred this issue to each territory to decide for itself.

The Whig party attempted to ignore this issue, and perished ignobly in such attempt, for the brains and the conscience of that organization immediately deserted it, founding the Republican party, which was pledged to the destruction of slavery.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1856, when John C. Fremont, a Republican, became the standard-bearer of freedom, and was defeated for president by James Buchanan, the Democratic nominee.

During thirty consecutive years of this struggle Missouri was represented in the United States senate by Thomas H. Benton, a North Carolinian by birth, and a slaveholder by inheritance, who never once wavered in his support of all measures looking toward the ultimate destruction of slavery.

In 1858 there arose to national prominence that wonderful statesman, whose name and career will illuminate the pages of history until time shall be no more, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, whose masterly debate with Douglas foreshadowed his entrance into public life the following year. He became the Republican candidate for president in 1860, having been nominated at Chicago, as hereafter stated, and was supported with enthusiasm by Francis P. Blair and Edward Bates of

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Missouri, the latter afterwards entering the cabinet as attorney general.

The Democratic party divided at Charleston in 1860, both wings afterwards re-assembling at Baltimore, where Stephen A. Douglas was nominated by the northern and John C. Breckenridge by the southern faction.

In the same year the remnant of the old Whig party, then calling themselves the Constitutional Union men, met at Baltimore, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president.

In the presidential contest of that year, Abraham Lincoln, a native of Kentucky, and citizen of Illinois, the greatest statesman America has yet produced, was the candidate of the Republican party; Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," of Illinois, then in the United States senate from that state, of the union wing of the Democratic party, John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, of the secession wing of the same organization, and John Bell of Tennessee, of the Whig party.

In the electoral college the entire vote of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin, and four votes of New Jersey, one hundred and eighty votes in all, were cast for Lincoln.

Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, seventy-two votes in all, were cast for Breckenridge.

Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, thirty-nine votes in all, were cast for Bell. The entire vote of Missouri and three votes of New Jersey, twelve votes in all, were cast for Douglas. In the following year, by a majority of 80,000, the people of Missouri decided against secession. Not a single member of that party was returned to the convention called to determine that question, though there were a number of the delegates who were believers in the doctrine of state rights, or, as it is now termed, local self-government.

Of the whole number of members, eighty-one were born in the slave states, fourteen in the North, three in Europe, and one in the District of Columbia. This convention, when it

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assembled, adhered firmly to the Union from beginning to end, and when Claiborne F. Jackson, with a party of state officials, and a minority of the general assembly, fled from the state in 1861, Hamilton R. Gamble, an eminent lawyer and unswerving Union man, was appointed as provisional governor in his stead, and a legislature elected, which was as steadfastly devoted to the government of the United States as any corresponding body in the North.

In the spring of 1861 the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Virginia and Texas, eleven in all, attempted to secede. And thus was born the ill-starred and ill-fated Southern Confederacy. By this time Kansas was admitted into the Union and conspicuous among the loyal states, twenty-three in number, stood the grand old state of Missouri. This is clearly demonstrated by the number of Union soldiers furnished by each state in the four years beginning in 1861 and ending in 1865. I have taken pains to obtain this information from official sources, and the roll of honor down to and including Missouri, as follows:

New York, 445,959; Pennsylvania, 338,155; Ohio, 310,654; Illinois, 258,162; Indiana, 194,363; Massachusetts, 146,467; Missouri, 109,162; total, 1,802,922.

Thus it is that Missouri, seventh among the Empire States in point of population in 1860, was seventh also among her sisters in the struggle for human freedom, although, unlike them, every mile of her territory almost was a battle ground over which armies marched and countermarched for four long years in the most gigantic civil war ever known in the world's history.

There is another fact well nigh forgotten also, but also of record, as to this eventful period, and that is that while drafts were ordered and executed in all of the six states above named which exceeded Missouri in the number of soldiers furnished, Missouri alone of them all furnished her full quota in every call made by the president or his subordinates for troops to suppress the slaveholders' rebellion. And while it is true that a draft was ordered in Missouri in 1863, it is also a fact that the order

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was countermanded as soon as it was shown that Missouri's quota was full.

Nor is this all. The entire vote of Missouri for president in 1860 was 165,518 and sixty per cent of this number wore the blue uniform of the United States and lent efficient aid in the destruction of slavery forever on this continent.

This, too, when Missouri's quota in the Confederate army was also full, and while no official records survive from which the exact number of such troops can be obtained yet, it has been stated upon the best authority that at the close of the war there were more men from Missouri in the Confederate army than from any of the seceding states.

This is further exemplified by the fact that the three presidential candidates in 1860, who stood distinctively for the Union, differing only on the question of further extension of slavery in the territories, Mr. Lincoln being opposed to such extension, Mr. Bell believing in the idea of non-interference, and Mr. Douglas being in favor of each territory determining that question for itself, those three candidates had, combined, in Missouri, a majority of 102,884, in a total vote of 165,518, over the followers of Breckenridge, who were disunionists and in favor of the absolute right of the slaveholder to take his slaves into the territories, and keep them there unaffected by any territorial legislation, the vote being as follows:

Lincoln,	17,028
Douglas,	58,801
Bell,	58,372
	134,201
Breckenridge,	31,317
	102,884

The accuracy of the foregoing statement as to the relative positions of the respective political parties in the campaign of 1860, is verified by the following quotations taken from those platforms, as they appear in the Political Text Book for 1860, compiled by Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland, and published in New York by the Tribune Association in that year.

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REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

On Which Lincoln Was Nominated, May 18, 1860.

3. "That to the Union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may: And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence." * * *

7. "That the new dogma, that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent: is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country."

8. "That the normal condition of the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without the process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it: and we deny the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory in the United States."

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CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM

On Which Bell Was Nominated, May 9, 1860.

"2. *Resolved:* That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the *Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws*, and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country in national convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and states re-established, and the government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, DOUGLAS WING

Platform Upon Which Douglas Was Nominated at Baltimore, Md., June 22, 1860.

1. "*Resolved:* That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention, at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchanging in their nature when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolution, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of congress, under

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the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories:

2. *Resolved:* That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the supreme court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

From Platform of 1856.

1. "*Resolved:* That, claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and the Whig parties in National Conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the territories of 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and the admission of new states with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed with a Republican form of government.

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Resolved: That we recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states."

PLATFORM ON WHICH BRECKENRIDGE WAS NOMINATED

At Baltimore, June 28, 1860.

"*Resolved:* That the platform adopted at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following resolutions:

That the National Democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the territories: First, that congress has no power to abolish slavery in the territories; second, that the territorial legislature has no power to abolish slavery in the territories, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever.

Resolved: That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive to the Constitution and revolutionary in their effects."

Thus it appears, that while the Republican party was absolutely opposed to the extension of slavery, or to its further existence, it was as resolutely opposed to any scheme of disunion. And this was true also of the Douglas wing of the Democratic party as well as the remnant of the Whig party, then known as the Constitutional Union party. While the Breckenridge wing of the Democratic party were not only disunionists, but resolved to force the institution of slavery upon the free people of the new states then forming in the West and Northwest, without the consent of the inhabitants of such territories. Failing in this, they drew the sword for the pur-

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pose of perpetuating the curse of slavery on this continent, and of upholding the dogma of secession, and in their case, for once, the Scriptures were fulfilled, for the adherents of this dogma, having drawn the sword, perished by it.

Indeed, if a line be drawn one county wide on the west side of the Mississippi from the northern to the southern boundary of the state of Missouri, and one county wide on each side of the Missouri river from the city of St. Louis to the northwestern boundary of this state, within that line of demarkation will be found the great recruiting ground for the Confederate army as well as the strongholds of both slavery and secession in Missouri; while outside of these lines the great heart of her people beat as firmly for the cause of the Union as it did in similar communities in any of the northern states. So that any claim now made by any one, whether in official life or out of it, that Missouri ever belonged in sentiment to the South is an unmerited slander, promulgated only by those who are totally unacquainted with the imperial resources and densely ignorant of the glorious history of our great commonwealth. "Poor Old Missouri" she is not and never was. Union Missouri she was, is and always will be. Brave Old Missouri she was in her heroic past. Great Old Missouri she is in her boundless present, and Rich Old Missouri she will be, as I fully believe, in her transcendent future.

There is no reason to doubt that if Thomas H. Benton, who represented Missouri in the United States senate for thirty consecutive years, had lived, his overshadowing influence and massive intellect would have been on the side of the Union, as the Democracy of Missouri was really divided on that issue, and that wing of it which bore the name of that great statesman, was opposed to slavery, and unconditionally and almost unanimously arrayed on the side of freedom. Two of Benton's most devoted lieutenants, Francis P. Blair, and B. Gratz Brown, were striking illustrations of this truth. Blair and Brown were cousins, both natives of Kentucky, both slaveholders by inheritance, both voluntarily manumitted their slaves, and at the beginning of the civil war, Blair was a free-soil or anti-slavery member of congress from the city of St.

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Louis, and Brown was the able editor of the Missouri Democrat, a Benton paper, whose owner, William McKee, was an ardent and outspoken Union man, and whose paper never once faltered in its support of the United States government in the darkest hours of its death-grapple with secession.

The lamented death of Stephen A. Douglas occurring as it did early in the civil war, deprived the Union cause of a leader, who would have been a host in himself.

It became apparent to the Union men of Missouri, before the end of the year 1860, that the desperate and unscrupulous secession minority, although defeated at the polls, would resort to extreme measures at any cost to enroll Missouri among the defenders of slavery and secession. So such men as Blair, Brown, Bates, Broadhead, Fletcher, Gamble, Glover, How, Filley, Krekel, Edwards, Dyer, Draper, Lovelace, Wagner, Rollins, Hall, Pretorious, McKee, Boyd, Phelps, McClurg, Guitar, Geo. R. Smith, and B. W. Grover, with many others in various portions of the state, resolved to keep Missouri in her proper place among the loyal states or perish in the effort.

The people of Johnson county were almost evenly divided between the Whig and Democratic parties. The location of the county was outside of the great slaveholding belt of the country along the Missouri river, and, therefore, there was a large number of substantial small farmers settled there from the mountain regions of East Tennessee, Kentucky and the Carolinas, as well as a small number from the free states, who refused to own slaves and who were at heart opposed to that institution. The majority of these men were uncompromising Whigs. On the other hand the Democrats were mainly large land owners and slaveholders, and were chiefly from Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia and the other slave states. The prestige of wealth and social position was largely on the Democratic and also the secession side, but the Whigs, and Union men as well, were an uncompromising and numerous body of men, whose undaunted spirit could be depended upon in any emergency.

In 1861, by a decisive majority, Johnson county elected the Union candidate, Aikman Welch, a native of Missouri, and

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one of the ablest lawyers then in the state, as a delegate to the constitutional convention. Welch soon so distinguished himself in that body, as to secure the appointment of attorney-general, and died in that office during the war. His opponent was M. C. Goodlett, a young man then, who had recently emigrated to the county from Tennessee, and a prominent secessionist. Among the Union men of the county Benjamin W. Grover was the recognized leader, as he was afterwards the representative Union soldier. A native of Ohio, of Welsh ancestry, he came to the county in 1844, and was a life-long Whig and opponent of both slavery and secession. He was a member of the state senate of Missouri from 1852 to 1856, and was one of the early directors of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, and, in furtherance of that enterprise, devoted many of the best years of his life. He took an active part in the election of Aikman Welch, whose intimate personal friend he was, and when the war clouds began to lower, gave early public notice of his intention to enter the military service of the United States on the first opportunity.

Among his intimate friends, all strong Union men, were Robert A. Foster, John L. Rogers, A. H. Gilkeson, W. B. Moody, Thomas Evans, William and David Marr, Geo. W. and Thos. D. Houts, D. W. Reed, John Brown, James K. Farr, Thomas Ijams, Robert, John and Baxter Morrow, John H. McCluney, William Parman, Samuel Maguire, William E. Applegate, William E. Chester, Thomas Foster, William Fisher, Andrew Granger, Samuel Workman, Henry Hays, Daniel Adams, James Shumate, Jacob Knaus, Leroy C. Duncan, Samuel Bird, Stephen J. Burnett, A. M. Christian, Ingram Starkey, James Isaminger, Brinkley Hornsby, John J. Welshans, Alfred Duffield, William Zoll, Jesse and Harvey Harrison, and many others, whom want of time and space alone prevent present mention.

Robert A. Foster was a minister of the Gospel, a Southern Methodist, and the only minister of that denomination in the state who was for the Union, and a native of South Carolina, but he early chose the Union side, though past the age of military service, entered the volunteer army of the United States

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with his three sons, and served four years, as hereinafter described. The sons of Henry Hays, Daniel Adams, James Shumate, Andrew Granger, A. M. Christian, Geo. W. Houts, William Marr, Brinkley Hornsby, John J. Welshans, John L. Rogers, the Harrison brothers, and many others, were afterwards gallant soldiers for the Union. Brinkley Hornsby, a native of East Tennessee, openly voted for Fremont in 1856, and for Lincoln in 1860, in Johnson county. Marsh Foster, the eldest son of Robert A. Foster, was the ablest young man by long odds in Johnson county at that time. In 1860 he was an independent Democratic candidate for county clerk, and was elected after a remarkable canvass, defeating both the regular Democratic nominee, James McCown, and the Whig candidate, F. S. Poston, for that office. When secession became the issue, he supported the Union candidate, Welch, for delegate to the constitutional convention, and on the afternoon of election day, February 18, 1861, was assassinated in the most cowardly manner at the polls in Warrensburg by the two McCowns, father and son. Had his life been spared, Marsh Foster would soon have entered the Union army, and would undoubtedly have risen to a high rank in the service. As it was, he was the first martyr to the Union cause in Johnson county and also in the United States, and as such will ever be held in loving and tender remembrance.

After the unprovoked murder of Marsh Foster, the two McCowns fled to the jail for refuge, where they would have been hanged by a band of young men led by Thos. W. and W. L. Houts, but their lives were saved by B. W. Grover and Emory S. Foster, the second son of R. A. Foster, who persuaded them to let the law take its course. A packed grand jury of secessionists afterwards refused to indict the McCowns for murder, which but intensified the feeling against them. Both of them served in the Confederate army, though not with credit either to themselves or to that cause.

Early in 1861 an independent military company was organized in Warrensburg, for the avowed purpose of serving in the Union army. Emory S. Foster was the captain and Thos. W. Houts its first lieutenant. No military clothing was

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obtainable, and of necessity a uniform was adopted of red shirts and black pants, so the company was known as the "Red Shirt Company."

At that time there was stored in a room in the courthouse at Warrensburg one hundred muskets belonging to the state, which had been furnished to the county under the militia law of 1857, then in force. These arms were intended by the secession leaders to be used in overawing the Union men. But Foster and his men secured possession of them, and stood guard over them day and night. A demand was made on Foster for these arms, and he was threatened with prosecution if it was not acceded to, but he kept them fully loaded all the time for the use of his company, and afterwards turned them over to Col. Grover, who used them in arming his regiment.

At the same time F. M. Cockrell, now our United States Senator, afterwards a brave and distinguished soldier, was recruiting a company for the Confederate army, which he soon afterwards entered. Foster's company drilled daily on the east side of town and Cockrell's on the west side. On several occasions Cockrell and his men drilled with Foster and Foster and his men with Cockrell. Cockrell went south before Foster could get mustered into the Union army, but the utmost good feeling always prevailed between the two commands until the last.

The legislature of Missouri was at that time controlled by the secession element, and passed a conscription law, known as the Harris Military Bill, with the avowed purpose of raising an army to force Missouri out of the Union, a plan successfully adopted in many of the slave states. As soon as the bill passed, B. W. Grover made arrangements to canvass Johnson county in opposition to it, with a view of organizing the Union men. In this work he was joined by James D. Eads, a lifelong Democrat, who had recently removed to Missouri from Iowa, and was then the editor of the "Warrensburg Missourian," the Democratic organ. Eads was an educated physician and had served in the Mexican war. But he was a follower of Douglas, and when the secession tendencies of Johnson county Democracy became apparent, he became an

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outspoken Union man, resigned his place on the paper, and joined Grover in the canvass of the county, speaking in every school district. For this both Eads and Grover were proscribed, and a reward of five hundred dollars offered to any man who would kill them. But Foster and Houts, with a picked guard of the red shirt company, escorted the speakers in safety from one end of the county to the other, and so overawed the secessionists, that after one feeble interruption at Chilhowee they relinquished all idea of either interruptions or assassination.

By this time the Union men in Johnson county were fully organized, and what was afterwards the Twenty-seventh regiment of Missouri Mounted Infantry, United States Volunteers, was formed. B. W. Grover was unanimously chosen colonel, but declined the place in favor of his friend, Jacob Knaus. Grover was then chosen lieutenant-colonel; Emory S. Foster, major; Thomas W. Houts, quartermaster; and John J. Welshans, commissary.

Captains McGuire, Isaminger, M. U. Foster, Duncan, Applegate, Turley, Parker, Miller, McCluney, Ijams, Taylor, and Brown; and Lieuts. Shanks, Hall, Box, Starkey, Pease, W. L. Christian, Bird, Burnett, Gallaher, Keaton, Smiley, McCabe and Van Beek, with a thousand of the best and bravest young men in Johnson and Pettis counties, were organized into a regiment, which was called, for want of a better name, the Johnson County Home Guards. There were no United States mustering officers nearer than St. Louis, and no communication with them by rail nearer than Otterville, in Cooper county, with the state government in secession hands, so that nothing could be done but appoint rallying places and devise a code of signals, leaving each company in the neighborhood where it had been recruited. Captains McGuire and Applegate were, therefore, stationed in what is now Grover township, in the northeastern part of the county, Capt. M. U. Foster at Warrensburg, Capt. Duncan at Kingsville, Capt. Turley at Dunksburg, Capt. Parker at Sedalia, Capt. Miller at Windsor, Capt. McCluney at Fayetteville, Capt. Isaminger in the southeastern part of the county on Clear Fork south of Knob Nos-

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ter, Capt. Ijams at Cornelia, and Capts. Taylor and Brown at Chilhowee and Rose Hill. Such was the situation when Fort Sumter fell and also when Camp Jackson was taken on the 10th of May, 1861, by General Nathaniel Lyon and Colonel Frank P. Blair.

Then came a change in affairs. The crisis had come, and the Union army found its general in Nathaniel Lyon, who, had his life been spared, would have ranked among the greatest soldiers of the war. After capturing Camp Jackson, Lyon immediately organized a small command in St. Louis, and proceeded with it up the Missouri river.

Claiborne F. Jackson, then Governor, a secessionist, abandoned Jefferson City and fled south, first taking the precaution to empty the state treasury, and steal all the blankets from the state lunatic asylum at Fulton.

On the 17th of June, 1861, General Lyon reached Boonville with a small infantry and artillery force recruited in St. Louis, and there attacked and defeated a large number of secessionists, who were commanded by John S. Marmaduke, afterwards a Confederate general.

By this time, though the Twenty-seventh regiment had been enrolled, organized, and in active service, since the latter part of April, it had not been mustered in by any one possessing any authority from the United States to perform that act. In order to get into the service properly and regularly, Col. Grover rode alone across the country from Warrensburg to Boonville, a distance of seventy-five miles, to meet Gen. Lyon and procure the necessary authority from him to muster in his command. He arrived in time to act as volunteer aide to Gen. Lyon in the battle of Boonville, and received authority from that officer to immediately muster the Twenty-seventh into the service of the United States. While he was thus absent, Gen. Sterling Price, then in command of the Missouri State Guards, as the secession troops were then called, arrived in Warrensburg on his way south from Lexington, retreating from Gen. Lyon's advance. Gen. Price was accompanied by only a small escort and was very sick, necessitating his riding in an ambulance. He remained in Warrensburg during the after-

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noon of June 18th, at the Bolton House in Old Town. Major Foster, Capt. Foster and Lieutenant Houts were in town that day with about twenty-eight men, but none of them had any legal authority to order the men. All matters were at that time submitted to a vote and the majority ruled, the ranking officer simply carrying out the will of the majority. The younger men in the command proposed to capture Price at dusk and hurry off with him to Lyon, but the older men would not agree to it, fearing reprisals from the large rebel force then retreating south. In the twilight, in the Colburn pasture in Old Town at Warrensburg, a vote was taken in Major Foster's hat. Thirteen voted yes, the three officers above named being among that number, and fifteen, no. Not long afterwards, Gen. Price and his escort left town in a hurry. Col. Grover arrived about midnight that night with ample authority, and at once ordered a pursuit. We chased that ambulance to the Henry county line, where, in the gray dawn of the 19th, it safely reached a rebel camp too large for our little squadron to attack. So passed away a great opportunity.

As soon as the men could be collected from the various parts of the county, a work requiring nearly two weeks' time, the entire regiment assembled in New Town, at Warrensburg, in the grove east of where Land, Fike & Co's mill now stands, and there, on the 4th day of July, 1861, it was mustered into the United States service by Col. Grover, for "three years or during the war." It then marched to Lexington, thirty-five miles distant, to meet a detachment from St. Louis of Gen. Lyon's rear guard and procure arms. Upon arriving there, it was found that the troops then due had not arrived, so Col. Knaus encamped the regiment near the Fair grounds south of town, and remained there several days, without tents or camp equipage, officers and men alike sleeping on the bare ground, in a drenching rain storm, with a scant supply of food, arms and ammunition. In the meantime the rebels in Lexington, who could still muster a large force, formed a plan to capture the camp, and did seize and hold Capt. Foster, James M. Shepherd and several others who had gone into town for supplies. But, upon the appearance of two squadrons galloping into town,

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on parallel streets, one led by Col. Grover and the other by Major Foster, the prisoners were quickly released and their captors fled to the brush without firing a shot.

The storm, perhaps, prevented the attack on the camp that night, but on the next day Col. Chas. G. Stiefel arrived on a steamboat with a regiment of infantry from St. Louis, and supplied Col. Knaus with a lot of Belgian muskets, of an antiquated pattern, far more dangerous to the men using them than to the foe. A report was circulated over the rebel "grapevine telegraph" that Col. Knaus had received no arms, so when the command arrived the next day but one, at Atkinson's, fifteen miles from Lexington, on the Warrensburg road, it was fired on from the brush by a large rebel force, and several men wounded. But the line soon formed, Col. Knaus leading the center, Col. Grover the right, and Major Foster and Captain Fred. Neet, of the Fourteenth Missouri, the left. The rapid fire and spirited charge of Col. Knaus and his men soon dislodged the enemy, who broke and ran in all directions, closely pursued all that afternoon as far as Chapel Hill by Capt. Foster and Lieut. Box, with detachments of the mounted men. Upon arriving in Warrensburg the regiment went into camp at Camp Lyon, three miles southeast of town, in the Bear Creek valley, and there remained on active duty, scouting incessantly day and night until about August 20th, when it was ordered to Jefferson City. It marched to Sedalia, and there the main portion, under Col. Grover, went east by rail, while Col. Knaus followed with the mounted detachment *via* the wagon road. While passing Lookout Station, or Centretown, on the railroad, while the train was moving through a deep cut, a band of rebel guerrillas fired from behind piles of cordwood on the edges of the cut on both sides down upon the heads of the men who were closely packed in stockcars. Several men were badly wounded, and one, Dan. Cecil, one of the best and bravest boys in Foster's Company, mortally.

Col. Grover, who was on the engine, rallied and formed the men as soon as possible, but the guerrillas, being well mounted, escaped, with the exception of three, whose horses broke loose before they could mount. These three were captured and shot,

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and several houses where the guerrillas had harbored were burned, and the train then moved on, reaching Jefferson City the same afternoon. On the next day but one, Col. Knaus arrived, not having been molested en route.

Soon after his arrival in Jefferson City, Col. Knaus, then advanced in years, resigned and went home. Col. Grover succeeded to the command of the regiment and was again tendered the colonelcy by an unanimous vote, but declined it in favor of his friend, James D. Eads. Major Foster recruited a picked detachment from the regiment under the personal supervision of Gen. Grant, and called it the Fremont Scouts. He was ordered into active service with this detachment in western Missouri, and Capt. William Beck succeeded him as Major. Col. U. S. Grant was then in command of the post at Jefferson City, and to him Col. Grover reported for duty. A strong friendship sprang up between them and there was also a marked personal resemblance, as they were almost exactly the same size, with the same complexion and the same colored hair and eyes. So, when Col. Grant received notice of his promotion to Brigadier-General, he gave to Col. Grover his uniform coat, which he had never worn, which the latter wore all through the battle and siege of Lexington, and was afterwards buried in it. By order of Gen. Grant, the regiment was fully mounted, uniformed and equipped on the 1st day of September, 1861, and its proper name and number recorded, the Twenty-seventh Mounted Infantry Missouri Volunteers. It remained at Jefferson City, doing active and incessant service in the field as scouts, until Col. Mulligan, of the Twenty-third Illinois Infantry, who had succeeded Gen. Grant as post commander at Jefferson City, was ordered to Lexington by Gen. Fremont, who then commanded the department of Missouri. Col. Grover was detailed with parts of five companies, commanded by Capts. Maguire, Duncan, Applegate, Parker and McCluney, about three hundred men in all, to accompany Col. Mulligan to Lexington. On the march, about one hundred men were cut off from the command at Dunksburg, and were dispersed and a large number captured by an overpowering rebel force, so that less than two hundred of the Twenty-sev-

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enth actually participated in the battles and siege of Lexington from Sept. 12 to Sept. 20, 1861. These men, however, were at the front, and led by their brave officers, fought Price's advance, themselves forming Mulligan's rear guard all the way from Georgetown, *via* Warrensburg, to Lexington, a distance of sixty-five miles, without rest or rations, and without dismounting a man, except those who were killed and wounded in the repeated and sharp engagements. When the heroic Mulligan fortified Lexington in order to hold it, as he was directed to do, the Twenty-seventh were stationed, with the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Missouri and the First Illinois Cavalry, on the bluff overlooking the river, while the Twenty-third Illinois Infantry occupied the works surrounding the college. The most desperate hand-to-hand fighting then ensued around these works, between the little band of less than three thousand Union soldiers, every man a hero, and Price's army of more then twenty thousand men. For eight days and nights, without cessation, this unequal contest raged. It was terminated at last by the capture of the brave Mulligan and his devoted men, through the cowardice of an officer who did *not* belong to either the Twenty-seventh, Thirteenth or Fourteenth Missouri, the First Illinois Cavalry or the Twenty-third Illinois Infantry, who, without any orders, ran up a white flag, and let the enemy into a commanding position inside of the works. No better fighting was ever done by any soldiers, in any war, than by the Twenty-seventh at Lexington. Of its officers, Col. Grover and Capt. McCluney received mortal wounds, from which Col. Grover died in St. Louis on the 31st of October, 1861, and Capt. McCluney at his home in Johnson county afterwards. Captains Duncan, Maguire, Parker and Applegate were all wounded, and about one-half of the command were either killed or wounded in this siege. Long before the surrender, the whole force had been completely surrounded and cut off from water, so that, when Col. Grover fell, never to rise again, in the thickest of the fight, on the afternoon of September 20, he had been continuously on duty and in the battle for sixty consecutive hours, during all of which time not a morsel of food nor a drop of water had passed his lips.

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While their brave comrades were thus being overpowered at Lexington, Col. Eads, in command of the remaining seven companies of the Twenty-seventh, formed the advance guard of Veatch's brigade of Hovey's division of the army of the west, afterwards the frontier, then being organized, and marched to Lamine bridge, near Otterville, where it was encamped. Col. Eads was detailed as Post Commander at Syracuse, and Major Beck sent to Sedalia, leaving Capt. Isaminger in command of the regiment.

There were, at this time, two splendid divisions of Indiana Infantry with Cockifair's Battery of four twelve-pound Napoleon guns, all under the command of Col. Jeff. C. Davis, at the Lamine bridge. The regimental officers were such men as Cols. Davis, Veatch, Hovey and Benton, who afterwards rose to high rank in the service. With these were the seven companies of the Twenty-seventh, under Col. Eads, well drilled, mounted and equipped, and thoroughly familiar with the country, the whole command numbering nearly eight thousand men. That these troops would have raised the siege at Lexington and defeated Price, there can be no question. So eager were they to go that their officers could scarcely restrain them. Major Foster, at the head of the Fremont Scouts, drove in the enemy's pickets on the Warrensburg road, close to Lexington, a week before the surrender, and sent one of his men, Frank Johnson, of Warrensburg, into the entrenchments with a message to Col. Mulligan concealed in the sole of his shoe. Johnson went in and out safely, and brought a message back in the same manner from Mulligan to Fremont, stating that he, Mulligan, was surrounded by an overwhelming force, but was "holding the fort," as ordered, and would do so until overpowered, and calling for immediate re-inforcements.

Major Foster took that message to St. Louis, and was turned away from the door of Fremont's headquarters by his Hungarian guard, to whom the English language was an unknown tongue. He then hunted up Col. Frank P. Blair, who was an intimate friend of Col. Grover, and the two were finally admitted to Gen. Fremont's presence, and the whole situation laid before him.

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Col. Davis, on the 16th, sent two scouting parties of the Twenty-seventh, under the command of Capt. Foster and Lieut. Box, from Lamine bridge to see if the roads to Lexington were clear. Foster chased in the enemy's pickets five miles from Lexington, on the Sedalia road, and Box did the same thing on the River road, and both returned on the morning of the 18th to Sedalia, and reported those facts to Col. Davis. Davis almost burnt the telegraph wire down with repeated messages to Fremont, beseeching him for marching orders, yet they never came. Had they been issued as late as the 18th, the siege would have been raised, and Mulligan saved on the morning of the 20th beyond a doubt, as the surrender did not take place until late in the afternoon of that day. This useless sacrifice of these brave men at Lexington is a stain upon the military record of John C. Fremont that time will never efface.

The distance between Lamine bridge and Lexington was only sixty-five miles. The roads were in good condition, and the country abounded with ample supply of both food and forage. Blair, who up to this time had been the friend of Fremont, now became his relentless foe. The speech of Blair in Congress, entitled: "Fremont's one hundred days in Missouri," aroused the country and drove Fremont from power. It has no rival in English literature, except the great arraignment of Warren Hastings, by Edward Burke, in the English Parliament. The survivors at Lexington in the Twenty-seventh could not be exchanged at that early day, so their services were lost to that regiment.

Col. Eads was then assigned to duty as Post Commander at Georgetown, and the regiment remained in the field under Major Beck and Capt. Isaminger, taking part in the vain-glorious march and inglorious retreat of Fremont from Sedalia to Springfield and return. No one in the army or out of it were more heartily rejoiced over the downfall of Fremont than the remnant of the gallant Twenty-seventh, when that news reached them on the road between those two places.

The Fremont Scouts were engaged in a number of brilliant fights with the enemy in the Fall of 1861. They met

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the Whitley family of guerrillas, in a hand-to-hand set to, on Clear Fork, and completely routed them, driving them into Henry county in wild confusion. In this fight Morris Foster's horse ran away with him, causing him to outrun his comrades, and overtake and capture the Rebel Captain, who was acting as rear guard for his retreating companions. They went to the relief of Col. Hough at the California ford, west of Warrensburg, riding the forty-two miles from Sedalia to that place in less than six hours, and rescued that brave officer, after he had received a disabling wound and had been completely surrounded by a superior force. Foster, with ten of them, captured Col. Lewis, a Confederate officer on recruiting service, and fifteen of his men, at Holden, and brought the whole party safely into our lines. They joined forces with a squadron of the First Missouri Cavalry under Major Henry J. Stierlein, and recaptured 1,200 cattle belonging to a government train, the wagons having been burned before their arrival, rescued the guard, put the guerrillas engaged in the affair to flight after a sharp encounter, in which Dave Greenlee, a former resident of Warrensburg, was killed, and drove the herd overland to Fort Leavenworth, there turning over to the United States quartermaster at that post 1440 head of work oxen in tip-top condition.

The remainder of the regiment fought guerrillas, from the Missouri to the Osage rivers, almost every day in the week. In December, 1861, it took part in the Pope expedition, and participated in the engagement at Milford, where a part of two of its companies (Isaminger's and Foster's), with four companies of regular United States Cavalry, under Col. J. C. Davis, and without either infantry or artillery support, surprised and captured a recruiting camp of 1300 rebels, under Col. Alexander, and marched the whole of that long line under guard to Sedalia, sleeping most of the time on the bare ground in the snow, with the temperature near zero.

In this campaign Capt. Foster, with seventeen men of Company C of the Twenty-seventh, attacked a picket of thirty-three Confederates near Bear Creek, on the Sedalia road, one night, and chased them more than three miles to the

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outskirts of Warrensburg, killing five and wounding several more, without the loss of a man. He surprised the "Johnnies" around their camp fire, and they fled pell-mell into town at the first fire, with the report that Pope's whole army was coming and not far away.

Col. Clarkson (Confederate) had 1500 men at Warrensburg, but he immediately struck out for Rose Hill, and thus escaped capture by Pope's advance guard, who were moving up the Fort Scott road, some twelve miles south of Warrensburg. Instead of receiving any credit for this exploit, Foster was sharply reprimanded for flushing the game before it could be bagged. But if the First Cavalry on the Fort Scott road had moved as promptly according to orders as Foster did, Clarkson would have been surely captured at Warrensburg.

Upon its return to Sedalia the regiment was ordered to Benton Barracks, St. Louis. Upon its arrival there it found Gen. W. T. Sherman in command. This great soldier was temporarily shelved, because in an unguarded moment he had said that it would require a force of 600,000 men to suppress the rebellion. There, on the 27th of January, 1862, the remnant of the Twenty-seventh Missouri was mustered out. So continuous and severe had been its service since April, 1861, that only 469 men answered to their names on the muster-out roll, as the remaining 531 had been killed, wounded or captured while serving in the field and at the front.

The subsequent military history of the men who formed this splendid regiment is worthy of note. Four full companies, all from the Twenty-seventh, were recruited by Major Foster at Warrensburg, in January, February and March, 1862 and commanded by Capts. T. W. Houts, M. U. Foster, Maguire and Box, and Lieuts. Jewell, Peak, W. L. and A. W. Christian, Marr, Maguire and Daly, served in the Seventh Cavalry M. S. M. for three years, fighting constantly and bravely in the field. Part of them, led by the heroic Foster, were at Lone Jack in August, 1862, in one of the bloodiest and hardest fights, for the numbers engaged, of the whole war.

Capt. Duncan and Lieuts. Shanks and Chester recruited another detachment from the Twenty-seventh, which enlisted in the Fiftieth E. M. M. and did good service. Lieuts. Van

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Beek and Burnett, afterwards Major Van Beek and Capt. Burnett, with another portion, entered Company A, of the Thirty-third Mo. Volunteers, and served with distinction in the Sixteenth Army Corps, under Gen. A. J. Smith, at Vicksburg, Helena, Red River Expedition, Franklin, Nashville, and finally at the capture of Mobile in 1865. Capt. or Col. Isaminger of the Sixty-third Illinois, as he was then, was in Libby Prison when Richmond fell, in April, 1865, and was one of the last officers set free there by Gen. Weitzel. With him marched to the sea, Capts. Starkey and Short and many brave boys of the old Twenty-seventh.

Other large detachments served on the plains in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Mo. Cavalry, under Capt. Turley and Lieut. W. L. Christian, until 1866, and others in Tennessee in the Forty-fifth and Forty-eighth Mo. Infantry, under Capt. Faulke and Col. Blodgett, in 1865.

Another large detachment, after having served for three years from the Cumberland to the Gulf, returned to Warrensburg in 1864 in time to enlist in Foster's Cavalry Battalion, then recruited there, and under Capts. Foster, Grover, Parman and Fisher, and Lieuts. Creek, Bird, Reavis, Allen, Marshall, Bondurant and Fisher, joined Jennison's Brigade of Blunt's Division of the Army of the Border, and served in that historic campaign and aided in driving their ancient enemy, Gen. Sterling Price, from the state, and in the defeat and capture of Gen. Marmaduke's Division at Mine Creek, and thus once more received honorable mention for "coolness under fire and bravery in action."

Time has thinned and is thinning the ranks of this noble command, so that few now remain, and those few are scattered far and wide, and may never all meet again on earth.

Cols. Eads and Grover, Capts. Duncan, McCluney, Applegate and Parker, and Lieuts. Van Beek, Jewell, Daly and many others have long ago crossed the "shining river," and now await their reunion with their brave and beloved comrades of the Twenty-seventh in heaven, to part nevermore.

Comrades of the Potomac, we share with you your just pride in your glorious achievements, but may we not remind

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you that your last and greatest Commander, U. S. Grant, served with us in Missouri long before you followed him to victory. While Ohio claims the world's greatest soldier as her son, and Illinois as her citizen, may we not all say,

"When asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply will be,
He comes from Appomattox,
And its famous apple tree."

Comrades of the Cumberland, the names of some of Missouri's best and bravest are on your rolls, and we revere with you the name of Geo. H. Thomas, Virginia's greatest soldier since Washington, the one Union general who never disobeyed an order, or made a mistake, whose fame will ever increase,

"'Till the sun grows cold,
'Till the stars are old,
And the leaves of the judgment book unfold."

Comrades of the Tennessee, we are of near "kin" to you. Our own matchless Sherman was a Missouri soldier, for his first volunteer command, the Thirteenth Regulars, was recruited in St. Louis and accredited to this state. He sleeps his last sleep in Calvary Cemetery in St. Louis, overlooking the "Father of Waters," surrounded by all that is mortal of Blair, Harding, Hassendeubel, Boomer, Cornyn, and a host of other Missouri heroes, who followed him from Donelson to the sea.

Comrades of the Gulf, the Stonewall Jackson of the Union army, brave old A. J. Smith, still lives, an honored citizen of St. Louis, his eye still as bright and his step as firm, despite the weight of seventy-five years, as when he checked the rebel advance with a Missouri brigade, and saved the day at Pleasant Hill.

Comrades of the Shenandoah, your beloved Sheridan, the greatest cavalry commander the world has yet seen, served with us in the army of the frontier before you knew him and ere his star had risen.

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Comrades of the Frontier and the Border, we of the Missouri Cavalry belong to you evermore, as side by side with you, under Curtis, Blunt, Herron, Steele, and Davidson, we fought with Hindman, Price, Van Dorn, Marmaduke, Shelby, Fagan and Standwatie, for four long and weary years, until all the pathways between the Missouri and the Arkansas rivers were as familiar to us as the bronzed faces in our lines.

Comrades of the regular army, your present heroic commander, John M. Schofield, entered the volunteer service from Missouri in 1861, and won his first promotion by gallant service, as Major of the immortal First Missouri Light Artillery, on the battle field of Wilson's Creek.

Comrades of the navy, it was that noble patriot, James B. Eads, of St. Louis, the great engineer, who built the gunboats Osage, Carondelet and St. Louis, whose timely aid turned defeat into victory at Shiloh, and who met the dauntless Farragut at Port Hudson, and thus opened the Mississippi to the Gulf.

Survivors of the Twenty-seventh, so near and dear to me, let us, some time in the near future, form a regimental organization to perpetuate forever the memory of the heroes who served with us, and to whom it was not given to see the glorious end of our struggle.

"Theirs the cross and ours the crown."

Ladies, in my dreams I sometimes see a marble shaft arise in the beautiful cemetery in this city, bearing an inscription like this:

"To the memory of the Union soldiers of Johnson county, Missouri, who died that this nation might live forever free."

I believe that some day you will build it, and that then will be said of it, as was so fitly spoken long ago of a similar monument,

"Let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest rays of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit."

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON OLD LANDMARKS.

The Telegraph Line Through Jefferson County.

The first telegraph line in Missouri and west of the Mississippi river ran through Jefferson county, but it has been out of commission so long only a few people in the county know it ever existed. The electric telegraph is not old. The first message sent over such a wire, for any distance at least, was sent from Baltimore to Washington, in 1844, by Prof. S. F. B. Morse, which was: "See what God hath wrought." McMaster, in his school history, speaking of the telegraph, says: "Samuel F. B. Morse got his patent in 1837, and for seven years, helped by Alfred Vail, he struggled on against poverty. In 1842 he had but 37 cents in the world. But perseverence conquered all things, and with $30,000 granted by congress the first telegraph line in the world was built in 1844 from Baltimore to Washington." Congress hesitated long before acting. Morse traveled all over Europe to raise money to test his invention without avail. It took him seven years to convince congress that intelligence could successfully be sent by electric wire, but it finally made the appropriation, and when that message went over the Baltimore-Washington line the problem was solved and arrangements were soon made to erect telegraph wires in all directions from Washington City.

In 1845 the wire extended to Jersey City, on the Hudson river, and on the 22d day of December, 1847, it reached East St. Louis, but as wires could not then be made to work under water messages had to be carried across the river in boats. This was ten years before the railroad reached East St. Louis.

In October, 1850, the line was extended into St. Louis by submerged wire across the Mississippi. The year 1850 is an epochal year for the history of Missouri. This year saw telegraphic connection between St. Louis and all cities east, and it was that year that Thomas Allen, John O'Fallon and

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others organized the St. Louis and Pacific Railroad Company (now the Missouri Pacific), and the construction of the first railroad west of the Mississippi was made certain.

The First Telegraph Line in Missouri.

It was also in 1850 that the first telegraph line was constructed and put in operation west of the Mississippi. A company known as "The St. Louis and New Orleans Telegraphy Company," constructed lines to Nashville, Tenn., and thence to New Orleans, south, and to Paducah, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis on the north. Tol. P. Schaffner of Kentucky was president of the company, and D. A. Given, Adam Rankin, L. M. Flournoy, J. W. Jones, S. A. Sawyer, R. Sturtivant, Isaac M. Veitch and Joseph Powell were the directors. Several of these directors were of St. Louis. The work on this line in Missouri was begun probably in the winter or spring of 1850, and was superintended by Dr. John Lee of Ste. Genevieve. The line from Cape Girardeau to St. Louis followed the old King's Trace with only an occasional divergence from it. It ran by Perryville and Ste. Genevieve and entered Jefferson county at Mead's farm on Isle au Bois creek, and ran thence along the King's Trace route by Judge Howe's, the old Horine farm, now owned by John Thompson, to Gamel's place, west of Festus. At the latter place the line diverged from the King's Trace and ran by Charles G. Warne's and David Bryant's to Dr. Clarke's and thence through the present site of Pevely to the old State Road, or King's Trace, at Joshua Herrington's house, and from there along the same road by way of Sulphur Springs and the Paul Franklin place, subsequently J. G. Crow's, just west of Windsor Harbor, where the first Sulphur Springs postoffice was kept, to St. Louis, crossing the Joachim west of the bridge at Bryant's place, and the Meramec at the Lower Ferry.

The wires of this line were attached very largely to trees instead of poles, as growing timber in abundance was found along almost the entire line.

The superintendent, Dr. Lee, married a sister of Dr. Clarke, very much against the latter's consent, and in 1856 he was liv-

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ing in the Stone House at Plattin Rock. Lee and Miss Clarke eloped to marry, and this enraged Dr. Clarke so much he sought Lee out and they had a personal altercation, the particulars of which are not known to this committee.

First Message West of the Mississippi.

July 27, 1850, the first message by electric telegraph was sent over this line from St. Louis, via Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, Paducah and Nashville to New Orleans.

The company that constructed that line was not incorporated in Missouri till March 3, 1851, when a special act of the legislature was passed for that purpose, the above parties being named as incorporators. This company had, prior to the latter date, been chartered by the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. The annual meetings of the company were to be "held at Paducah, Kentucky, or at such other places as may be determined on from time to time." On the same day (March 3, 1851), the Missouri legislature passed an act to incorporate a company to "erect a telegraph line from St. Louis to Jefferson City, Boonville, Lexington, Weston and St. Joseph, and a lateral connecting with Brunswick, Glasgow, Columbia and Fulton, and such other towns on or near the Missouri river, as Schaffner and Veitch (the sole incorporators), may elect." The act recites these men "had acquired, or may acquire, from Prof. Samuel F. B. Morse the right to use his electro-magnetic telegraph, chemical or printing-telegraph system, by him invented and patented."

On the same day (March 3, 1851), "The Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Missouri Telegraph Company" was incorporated by an act of the Missouri legislature, Tol. P. Schaffner and his associates being named as incorporators to "erect a line of telegraph connecting with the great St. Louis and Missouri river telegraph line at or near Independence, in this state."

The stock of these companies was not limited, and that held by the citizens of Missouri was to be exempt from taxation until the company paid dividends, thus throwing the door to watering stock wide open. But the people of that period

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had to grant all sorts of privileges and exemptions to get capitalists to invest their money in public utilities of this sort. Sixty years ago we patted men with money on the back and by that means through the past we induced them to invest their means to build up the country and push the frontier line farther and farther to the west, until that line entirely disappeared from the map of our country. The policy of 1851 has been reversed and now we call the large owners of the stocks of all public utilities all sorts of vile names, and constantly throw obstacles in their way in the use of the utilities they have already constructed, which has brought a halt in the construction of more, and still we are not happy.

JULY 27, 1850.

This day ought to be a memorable one in the history of Jefferson county, of Missouri and all the trans-Mississippi states, the noblest portion of our national domain. We of Jefferson county especially ought to inscribe that epochal date in golden letters in our records, public and private. But we, with the whole country, have forgotten if we ever knew it. We celebrate the days of the great battles of our country, in some of which brothers drenched the land in fraternal blood, but no one mentions July 27, 1850, the day on which the greatest civilizing agency of the world was installed west of the Mississippi. The message sent from St. Louis to New Orleans that day marked in silence the triumph of man over distance and intervening space—marked the triumph of science over matter. That day was a peaceful one. The roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the clash of swords, the wild cries of the wounded and dying, the heart wails of widows and sisters and parents, were not heard; and yet we have forgotten the great event of that day and that epoch. Why is it man is so prone to celebrate bloody battles, and erect costly monuments to military heroes, and forget and remit to oblivion the silent triumphs of science over matter and space? Who cares for Dr. Lee, who put up that wire at least through Jefferson county, or for Tol. P. Schaffner and his colleagues, who financed the

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enterprise? Or who cares much for Prof. Morse, the father of the electro-magnetic telegraph? These men were pioneers in telegraphy, and behold today what their efforts have brought to the world! The telegraph penetrates every nook and corner of our broad land, and of all civilized lands. Ocean cables, so far as the transmission of messages for business or pleasure or love is concerned, have abolished the waters that cover three-fourths of the earth's surface, and the wireless telegraph system has almost blotted out distance and space on land and sea. The telephone has become such a common medium of communication between neighbor and neighbor, business man and business man, and between states and cities, that it has long since ceased to be a wonder. Electricity is doing a large part of the work of the world. But, alas, we let the day come and go unnoticed.

The Only Memorial of the St. Louis-Ste. Genevieve Telegraph Line.

The only memorial of this line anywhere in this state is "The Telegraph School House," a short distance from Judge Madison's farm on the Plattin.

When the Illinois Central Railroad was finished from Chicago to the Ohio river the telegraph line from St. Louis to Cape Girardeau disappeared from the map, which was about 1857 or 1858, or it may be earlier.

Since the above was written the committee has been informed by Judge Charles that his wife thinks the Lee who put up the wires of the telegraph through Jefferson county in 1850 was not the same Lee who married Dr. Clarke's sister. The committee has a letter from Mr. Jewett, in which he says he had interviewed Mr. John M. Bailey on the history of that old telegraph line, and he then goes on to say that the Lee who put up the wires and the one who married Dr. Clarke's sister was the same, though he does not say he got that information from Mr. Bailey. It may be he got that item from Dr. Lee

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himself, for he says when he came to Plattin Rock in 1856 Dr. Lee was then living in the Stone House there.

So far as the committee can learn no telegraph office on the St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve telegraph line was ever kept within the borders of Jefferson county, due probably to the fact that it ran through no town in our county and there was no demand for such an office to justify its establishment and maintenance.

JOHN L. THOMAS,
Chairman.

Sept. 27, 1912.

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SKETCHES OF LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

No. 4.

In previous papers relating to the early history of Livingston county, its pioneer settlers, the location of Chillicothe as the county seat, and other towns then existing or afterwards laid out and founded, nothing was said about the administration of justice in the courts as then constituted.

It may here be observed that the first term of the circuit court was held at the residence of Joseph Cox, about four miles north of the present site of Chillicothe, on Monday, July 5, 1837, Judge Austin A. King of Ray County (afterwards governor), presiding, with Thomas R. Bryan, clerk; W. O. Jennings, sheriff; E. Pearl, deputy clerk, and Thomas C. Burch, prosecuting attorney. The second term was held at Cox's on Tuesday, November 7, 1837, and the July term, 1838, was held at Chillicothe, the established county seat. At the April term, 1839, Thomas C. Burch having received his appointment and commission from Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, took his seat as judge, but in December following was succeeded by James A. Clark of Chariton county, B. F. Stringfellow being the prosecuting attorney for the circuit.

Judge Clark continued in office until about the year 1860, when the judicial district was changed and Livingston county passed into the new circuit composed of Davies and adjacent counties, and at the ensuing election James McFerran of Gallatin was chosen judge of the new circuit, and continued in office till the end of his term in 1866. His successors in office in regular order were Jonas J. Clark, E. J. Broaddus (late of the Kansas City Court of Appeals), James M. Davis, who resigned after several years service, and Judge Broaddus was appointed by Governor Francis to fill the vacancy, afterwards elected for a full term when Joshua W. Alexander of Gallatin, Missouri (now member of Congress), became judge, who was succeeded by Francis M. Trimble (recently elected a member

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of the Kansas City Court of Appeals). Judge Arch. B. Davis, the present incumbent becoming his successor.

In 1852, when the writer located at Chillicothe, JamesA. Clark was still judge of the circuit. He was a brother of Gen. John B. Clark of Howard county, a distinguished lawyer, and member of Congress from his district for two or three terms prior to the war. The judicial district at that time embraced the counties of Livingston, Chariton, Linn, Sullivan, Putman, Mercer and Grundy. The judge in his rounds over the circuit was accompanied by many of the lawyers from the different counties, following the custom to "ride the circuit," as observed by the pioneer Methodist preachers of that day.

Judge James A. Clark (long on the bench of that circuit), was an able and upright jurist. He was not, however, extensively learned as a lawyer. He had read but few law books, but these he had studied well, and with his strong common sense and practical knowledge of men and affairs, he was well enough equipped to dispense justice with an even hand and gave general satisfaction. Few cases tried before him were appealed, and rarely were his rulings reversed. His dockets, however, in Livingston county were not burdened with cases, and the terms rarely continued a week, usually lasting two or three days. The litigation was light, and did not involve large amounts. The criminal cases usually involved minor offenses, such as horse racing, betting at cards, and now and then a case of homicide.

The county was still sparsely settled and the people in the main were law-abiding and ever ready to lend a helping hand in ferreting out and bringing to justice offenders of every description.

In 1852 (when the writer came to Chillicothe), William Y. Slack, William C. Samuel, and J. H. B. Manning, were the resident attorneys. Slack, (during the war was a confederate general, and was killed in the battle of Pea Ridge), located in the county soon after its organization in 1837, coming from Boone county, where he was raised and educated. As a lawyer he was honest, attentive to business and had the confidence of the community in which he had cast his lot. He was

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an active and useful citizen, sparing no pains and begrudging no sacrifice for the development and progress of the county of his choice.

W. C. Samuel located in Chillicothe about the year 1848, and closed a long life only two or three years ago. As a lawyer he was in some respects rather unique, endowed with good native ability, sound judgment, and good memory, he became a good and safe lawyer, and by his practice was enabled to support a large family, and strange to say that during his long practice he was never known to make or attempt to make a speech to court or jury. He was essentially a counselor at law, and his brethren of the bar often consulted him, and were pleased to have him in their cases as advisory counsel.

J. H. B. Manning (as I believe), never engaged in the regular and orderly study of the law, but his native tact, shrewdness, and intimate acquaintance with men, enabled him to achieve reasonable success in the line of his practice.

At the time indicated (1852), the largest part of the business intrusted to the lawyers consisted of mercantile collections. There being no banks and the retail merchants usually buying their goods on time, the result was that overdue paper was, in the first instance, placed in the hands of lawyers for collection, and the lawyer receiving such collections reaped a harvest that now goes to the local banks, and only the claims that the banks now fail to realize on are turned over to lawyers for suit.

Outside of such collections the business then was confined to cases of minor importance, and the fees coming to the lawyers were small. It then required but little knowledge of the law besides the statutes to conduct the cases in court, and when this knowledge was lacking, attorneys had recourse to their native resources, and their cases were won by methods not laid down in the books or sanctioned by the better ethics of the profession.

This is illustrated by one of the earliest cases in which the writer appeared after coming to Chillicothe. One, Sidney Kilgore, had been committed to jail charged with horse stealing, and awaiting action of the grand jury at the ensuing term of the circuit court. Manning, attorney for the prisoner, apprehensive that his client would have no chance for acquittal

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on a regular trial in court, concluded that his only show of success lay in a resort to the writ of habeas corpus. The writ was accordingly issued by George Pace, presiding justice of the county court, and on full hearing it became quite apparent that the prisoner would be committed to jail, but Manning was equal to the emergency. Anticipating an adverse decision, he arranged to have a horse tied to the court house fence, and he instructed his client, at the crucial moment to slip out at the door or through a window, mount the horse and make good his escape. The instructions so given was carried out to the letter, and Kilgore left for parts unknown.

Another case illustrating the course of justice in those days was one where the aid of lawyers was dispensed with altogether.

About a mile south of Spring Hill, a small town some eight miles northwest of Chillicothe, a resident citizen by the name of William Avery was waylaid and shot down by a neighbor named Samuel Husher. It was a case of cold-blooded and deliberate murder, and was the culmination of a feud previously existing in the neighborhood. The attending circumstances strongly pointed to Husher as the guilty party, and the evidence disclosed before the examining court established his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Husher was charged with the killing, and he was arrested and brought before two justices of Jackson township, Pepper and Lewis, as the examining court, or as it turned out to be, the *trial court.* Without warrant of law, a jury of twelve men were empanelled and sworn to try the case. From a list of twenty-four men the prisoner was allowed to select twelve men as the jury to try his case, and to conduct his own defense. He had sent a courier to Chillicothe to procure counsel; accordingly the writer accompanied by Charley H. Mansur and Col. R. S. Moore, hastened to the rescue, but on our arrival, at the scene of action, the trial was already in progress, and we were advised that neither the court or assembled crowd would permit lawyers to appear or interfere in any way with the proceedings then on hand. The verdict of the jury was, "Guilty, death by hanging within the next twenty-four hours." This sentence was carried out the next morning and the accused accordingly hanged at or

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near Simpson's Spring on the east side of town. The leading actors in this mob transaction were afterwards indicted, but owing to the disturbed conditions incident to the war, they were never tried, and finally discharged.

A notable case of the miscarriage of justice was that of the State against Henry Martin.

William Gordon, a well-to-do farmer living about seven miles northeast of Chillicothe, was killed by Henry Martin on the 6th day of April, 1858. They were both farmers and neighbors living a few miles north of Chillicothe. On the fatal day they were both in town. Gordon late in the evening left for home accompanied by Thomas Musselman. Martin, with one Sapp, followed soon after and overtook Gordon a mile out from town. They were all on horse back. An altercation at once ensued, when Martin dismounted, and drawing a revolver, shot Gordon from his horse, killing him instantly. Martin went on home. That night he was arrested by the sheriff, taken to Chillicothe and lodged in jail. The next day a preliminary examination was held before a justice of the peace and Martin was retained in custody to await further proceedings at the ensuing term of the circuit court. A day or two afterward the committing magistrate, on information that the Chillicothe jail was unsafe, ordered that the prisoner be taken to the Linneus jail for safe keeping. Thither C. H. Mansur, then a young attorney (and who had appeared for Martin at the preliminary hearing), accompanied the sheriff, and on arrival there, no time was lost in suing out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge French of the county court. Mansur in connection with Jacob Smith, a resident attorney, presented the application, claiming defect and irregularities in the papers made out by the justice, and on an *ex parte* hearing, Martin was released, and mounting a horse already provided by his friends made good his escape from the state. The people of Chillicothe were aroused to a high pitch of indignation. A mass meeting was at once called. Speeches were made and resolutions passed strongly denouncing what they considered a travesty on justice. The whereabouts of Mar-

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tin were kept concealed, and I believe that it is not known to this day where he went or may now be found.

From 1837 (the date of organization), up to the year 1858, there were few homicides committed in the county, but after that such cases became of frequent occurrence. It would, however, extend these papers to unreasonable length to enter into full details and it must here suffice to note the cases as they occurred, omitting a full narrative of the facts involved in each particular case.

On the 19th of April, 1853, Joseph Slagle killed Benjamin Collins, his brother-in-law. Slagle's fifth wife was a sister of Collins. Slagle was indicted, tried, and acquitted on the ground of self defense. Gen. John B. Clarke of Howard county conducted his defense. The trial was had at the October term 1854 of the circuit court.

September 6, 1864, D. Morrison was killed at the military hospital by Frank Bradford and others.

On September 4, 1865, Jacob Crouch shot George Cross in Bell & Coopers saloon in Chillicothe.

A negro named Sam was shot and killed by Jourdan a short distance east of Spring Hill on January 27, 1866. Sam had served in the Federal army, and Jourdan as a Confederate soldier.

December 24, 1867, W. H. Dudley, a constable, shot a young man named Thomas M. Bayles under arrest for stealing clothes, and in an attempt to escape.

September 23, 1872, Thomas Fox killed Thomas K. Conn in Hale's saloon, Chillicothe. This was the result of a feud previously existing. Fox was indicted, tried and acquitted on the ground of self-defense.

In the southern part of the county, and on August 14, 1875, Thomas Florence was killed by George F. Bell. Bell was indicted and acquitted in the circuit court of Carroll county where the case had been taken by change of venue.

On the 10th day of September, 1876, Henry Gamble was killed by John A. Wingo at Caldwell's house in Spring Hill. Wingo was indicted and tried in the circuit court, January 25, 1877, and the verdict of the jury was ten years in the peni-

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tentiary. Wingo appealed to the supreme court and the judgment of the circuit court was reversed, and a new trial awarded. On the second trial Wingo was again convicted of murder in the second degree with a ten year's sentence in the penitentiary, but Judge Broaddus, before whom the case was tried, granted a new trial. The case was then continued from term to term, until under the law, the prisoner was entitled to, and had to be discharged.

On October 6, 1877, Jesse Offield killed his cousin, Newton J. Eads. In May, 1878, Offield was tried and convicted of murder in the second degree and sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary. Judge Broaddus set the verdict aside and in February, 1879, the case was again tried and the evidence tended to show guilt of murder in the first degree, and under the instruction of the court, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal.

December 25, 1883, Green Shepherd was stabbed to death at a negro dance in Chillicothe by Lewis Waller, who was tried and convicted of murder in the second degree and sentenced to the penitentiary for 99 years.

For thirty-five years, and during the writer's residence in Chillicothe, only one case is remembered in which there was a conviction for murder in the first degree by regular trial in the circuit court, and this was the case of the State against one Adams. A man by the name of Mathias, coming from Ohio a few years previously, bought a farm on the Trenton road, and about one mile north of the town of Farmersville. He was a quiet man, and highly respected in his community, and doing well on his farm. One night about 11 o'clock some one knocked at the door and informed him that a wagon was mired down a short distance from his house, and that his help was needed. Mathias, suspecting nothing wrong, immediately dressed himself, and hurried to the place indicated. He found no wagon and at once some one of the crowd opened fire upon him and killed him on the spot. The circumstances of the case were mysterious. A thorough search was made by officers and neighbors of the murdered man for some days, but without result, until finally after the lapse of two or three weeks, facts

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came to light that pointed strongly to a young man of the neighborhood by the name of Adams as the guilty party. He was indicted and tried in the circuit court, and the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, and sentence passed accordingly—the day for his execution being fixed. Adams was taken to jail, but while awaiting the day of execution he fell sick and died. He was vigorously prosecuted by Judge John Dixon (an old Ohio friend of Mathias, the murdered man), who aided the prosecuting attorney and his forceful speech in the case contributed much to the conviction of the accused.

On the 21st of June, 1873, a bold and daring attempt was made to rob the People's Savings Bank of Chillicothe, of which Major Sidney McWilliams was then the president. Smith Rambo, living across Grand River, and about eight miles south of Chillicothe, conceived and planned the raid. He lived on his farm and up to that time bore a fair reputation in his community. He called to his assistance three young men—Manso, Monroe, and Brunk. The latter was a schoolteacher and boarded at Rambo's. Being advised of the intended robbery, and of all the plans therefor, he notified McWilliams of the conspiracy and the night when the attack would be made. It was planned that Rambo on the evening fixed was to stop with a neighbor who lived near town as if on a friendly visit—then leaving, to meet his confederates at a designated spot about 11 o'clock at night and thence proceed to McWilliams' home north of the town limits, seize McWilliams, compel him to open the bank safe and thus accomplish the robbery. McWilliams, having been forewarned, made full preparations for defense. Seven men were stationed at his house, well armed; Joseph Cooper, cashier of the Bank, W. B. Leach, assistant cashier, W. H. Gaunt, Ben Grant, J. H. Ware, Major McWilliams, and a colored man then in the Major's employ. Other citizens were stationed outside, and in the vicinity. It was arranged by Rambo that Brunk was to act as spokesman when McWilliams appeared at the window upstairs in answer to Brunk's summons; Rambo came up to the front door and knocked. Brunk had gone inside through a

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raised window as it had been arranged. Rambo's knock at the door was the signal for the firing. The first shots came from the inside. The robbers returned the fire. Manso, and Monroe fled, but Rambo was shot down dead—three balls having entered his body. Manso and Monroe were indicted and plead guilty, and sentenced to the penitentiary for a term of years.

Major McWilliams in full appreciation of the kind services of Brunk as rendered in this affair, took him into his family, sent him to college and aided him in his preparation for the practice of law. On receiving his license, Brunk located in Neosho, Missouri, where he pursued his profession up to the time of his death some years ago.

Major McWilliams removed to Kansas City in 1873 or 1874, and after twenty years or more of active business departed this life some three years ago.

L. T. COLLIER.

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SCHUYLER LETTERS.[1]

Geneva, Nov. 3d, 1831.

Friend Chum:

Life, as has justly been observed, is fraught with misery and woe. Such has been emphatically the condition of us for the last few weeks. Doolittle, I have again returned and with the promise that you would quickly return. The students are all eager and desirous for your return. Our old chumship I hope will not be dissolved. John Barker's earnest is for your return and I hope will soon be answered. Write soon and tell if the faculty have written for you.

I remain your friend,

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

Note.—The above letter concerns the college life of Mr. Schuyler and his life-long friend, Judge James R. Doolittle, afterward a senator from Wisconsin. The college, of course, was located at Geneva, N. Y.

DUANE MOWRY.

Ovid, December 26, 1832.

My Dear Friend,

I must own that I have not followed the arrangement to write as soon as I was fairly settled at home, for time has slipped away faster than I was aware. But if I have not written it has not been because I have not thought of you. No, Doolittle, if ever there was one whom I could strictly call a friend, whom feelings and heart accorded so nearly with my own and whom from these circumstances I *must love, it is you.* Never will I forget, though time and space may intervene, though the cold-hearted world may tear from me every comfort and reduce me to the condition of the meanest beggar that roams through the world, "unnoticed and unknown," never

1. The following letters of Rev. Dr. Montgomery Schuyler, later of Christ Church, St. Louis, are from the collection of Duane Mowry, Milwaukee, Wis.

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will I forget the pleasant, yes, the most pleasant days I ever enjoyed with you. My old chum, we have been participants for some time in the same pleasures in the same sorrows and we have experienced like misfortunes. It was a source of sorrow to be dismissed from college, considering that by the world we were thought idle and profligate, for we know it is very common, if the question is asked, was he ever dismissed from college? and it is answered in the affirmative to set that person down as a useless if not worse than useless member to (the) community. But with regard to myself it has, giving the above mentioned reason all its weight it has, though painful, still been beneficial. It has made me more active and diligent and caused me to resolve if it is in my power that Geneva College shall never be ashamed at least, if she is not proud, of classing me among her sons. I have often endeavored to ascertain in what I would be most likely to succeed should I pay all my attention and direct what little talents I have to that point. "Perseverantia vincit omnia" would then be my motto and if there was any truth in the maxim I would find it by experience. Chum, it is my opinion the laurel that Fame gives and the unfading wreath she weaves should not be despised and that none ought to stand quietly by who wish the prize without making an effort to obtain it. Fame, Fame, who would not labour to obtain thy reward. We cannot, no, we cannot obtain the ever-blooming laurel without climbing a steep and rugged way, without removing many an obstinate rock from our path. But as glittering, as precious, as may be the prize, yet I would not sacrifice my happiness to obtain it. As glorious, as immortal as may be the name of Byron, yet who would be willing to desert friends and home, or who would be willing to lead Byron's life to possess Byron's power. No, Glory is not always the reward of vice and unhappiness for virtue's path lead to her temple and among those who have become famous and still enjoyed that domestic happiness which ever attends virtue may be classed a Washington and a Henry. And I would ask you this question: Would you be willing to have another call Adelia's heart his own, to give up all claim to her affections and become wedded to ambition

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alone, for all the glory even of a Demosthenes or a Cicero? I can answer for you and I know it will be exactly your opinion—that all the world can bestow could not compensate me for Adelia's love. How long and how far distant the time seems before we can engage in the active business of life before we can enjoy all the happiness of seeing our most earnest desires fulfilled. Chum, you know my opinion well enough that the choice of a companion through life should not be the business of a few months. But I believe my choice is made and nothing shall change my purpose. To be sure it is a long time before the happy period can roll around, but to love and be beloved will sweeten its every moment. I think, I am almost sure, Sarah loves me, and to know that she sometimes thinks of me and perhaps, too, when I am thinking of her alone, will never fail to afford me real happiness. Yesterday as we were coming from church it happened that from some turn of the conversation my mother remarked to me that I had a good many years to make my choice in and that there was plenty time to think of such things "'bime bye." Thinks I to myself, I have effected the work of many years in a short time and to my satisfaction. To be sure there are a great many things to render the fulfillment of my wishes uncertain. She may not always love me, (though this I can not believe unless I render myself unworthy of her love; unless I forget my duty to her, myself and friends.) Her friends may oppose it, for you know friends or those who *pretend* to be friends sometimes meddle with things that do not concern them, but from my friends, those whom I should wish and think it my duty to obey, I am afraid of no opposition. But should I be doomed to disappointment, should death mark her for his victim—O, is there a possibility of such an event? Can death lay his icy fingers on those bright eyes and close them forever; can he forbid that tongue to speak which has uttered naught but love and affection? My heart sickens at the thought. Should anything intervene thus to destroy my happiness one of two things remains, to yield at once to the keen dart of affliction or determine to acquire fame, reckless and careless of the miseries that attend its pursuit. For to love another I can not. It seems as impossible that

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there can be more than one object of love as it seems certain that fame can not be obtained without an effort. This is not the first time I have declared my opinion to you on this subject and it will be always the same. I can imagine you swelling through fields but yet the marks of a new settlement and having the wild appearance exactly suitable to my taste, or as wandering along the banks of that little fairy lake which you have so oft described to me, and enjoying (shall I say perfect happiness?). No, she does not accompany you. But I can imagine you somewhere else, seated by the side of her with whom your happiness resides and enjoying all the pleasure of her delightful conversation. But poor me, I am deprived of that happiness. All that I can do is to imagine the pleasure I might have received. She is not coming home this vacation, but she did not stay from her own wish. I can spend my time pleasantly at home, for my brothers and sisters and mother are all here, but would it not pass doubly pleasant was Sarah home also? You know it would. But I must dismiss this subject on which I could write for ages could my feelings find expressions for them. Even as young as I am my happiness depends on the success or failure of one single act. But to know that she loves me, of which I am almost certain, will add half to my present happiness. Yes, chum, she has a heart that would not despise even the exaggerated expressions which I have made use of in the course of this letter. That is exaggerated in the opinion of the cold-hearted for I know you would not call them so. What I have written were some to hear would be a source of ridicule, but I have too much confidence in your sincerity to think you would be so devoid of feeling. Perhaps this last sentence may lead you to doubt my confidence in you, but do not for a moment imagine it—never harbor such an idea. When you write tell me your feelings and express your opinion without the least degree of reserve. I have done so to you. I have unfolded my whole heart to you and will always do so whenever I write. I am certain your vacation thus far has been a pleasant one and no doubt will continue to be so. We had a very unpleasant ride home as it was cold and bad

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roads. By the way, we were six hours on the way. Write soon and believe me ever your constant friend

M. SCHUYLER.

Note.—A most interesting and confidential letter from one college chum to another—Schuyler to Doolittle.

DUANE MOWRY.

Ovid, Jan. 1834.

My Old Chum,

Though I believe you owe me a letter, yet I will not be ceremonious, especially as I wish you to do me a favor. Please send by the stage driver, directed to be left at "Eagle's Hotel, Ovid," my chemistry, mechanics, optics and Butler. And tell Geer, if you please, not to forget to bring my German books with him. Well, the miscellaneous business transacted, I will now proceed to other things. During the latter part of last term I could but notice in your actions toward me something like coldness, and I always felt a restraint in expressing my feelings freely, presuming that in the state of mind I then believed you in, an expression of them would not be *over grateful* to you. This my chum also noticed and we frequently talked together on this same subject. Perhaps you will recollect a remark I made in your room with respect to leaving, toward the close of last term (viz.), "that there were not so many friends to me in college as there once were." I would have told my suspicions to you then, but my pride revolted at the idea. I never will court anyone's favor and when I had almost come to the resolution of avowing my thoughts to you plainly, such ideas as these would be sure to insinuate themselves into my mind: "If he is tired of my friendship, though I truly regret the loss of such a friend as he once was, yet shall he never know it." "I will show that I can be as indifferent as he is." These were my feelings when I left at the close of last term. When I returned again you were not so distant, but more familiar, though that open familiarity, that unrestrained freedom, which once existed between us, was very far from being restored. Yet the attention was so great as to induce me as I have already done to tell you plainly my thoughts in the hopes that our former intimacy might be restored. Per-

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haps this opinion may have no foundation in reality. I hope it has not, yet I thought it my duty to express it so that there should be none of that mistrust existing between us which saps the very life's blood of friendship. Doolittle, we have separated perhaps never to spend any length of time again together. The many happy hours, days and nights we have passed in the same room have fled never more to be enjoyed. For this there would be some consolation were we certain that still we had like hours to spend together. Yes, Memory, as she wanders back into the past will often dwell with rapturous delight on those days as the fairest spots on the barren pathway of life. In old number 9 we have indeed been happy together, we were happy when, locked in each others' arms ,we told of those we loved, formed our plans for the future and in fancy were acting the scenes which we had just sketched in imagination. But I must close. Tell me, Doolittle, if your feelings towards me have ever been such as I have described. If not, forgive me for even entertaining such an opinion. I know to harbor such a thought is wrong, but suspicion, I fear, may be reckoned among my many disagreeable qualities. Write if you have time and send the letter with the books if not soon after I arrive at Union.

Your firm friend,

M. SCHUYLER.

Note.—This letter is postmarked, "Lodi, N. Y., Jan'y 24," evidently in 1834. It is directed to "James R. Doolittle, Geneva College, Geneva." We have no means of knowing the real significance of this letter. But it is thought that the friendship formed at college continued during the lives of these two admirable characters. Possibly, "suspicion" was one of the "disagreeable qualities" possessed by Mr. Schuyler. Nevertheless, there is a warmth of feeling manifest in this letter which is altogether too rare in college chums.

DUANE MOWRY.

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Union College, May 15, 1834.

Dear Chum,

I have delayed too long answering your letter and I am afraid you will draw wrong conclusions from my silence. But little things ought not to affect a friendship laid too deep (I did hope) to be easily shaken. As to your resolution, which you mentioned as effecting so great a change in your actions, permit me to say a few things, and I shall say them with a view to your good though perhaps they may not deserve your attention. It is of importance for every young man to acquire a set of friends before going into the world on whose fidelity he can rely with perfect confidence. When thrown upon our own resources, no matter how much talent we possess, yet there is always a chain of circumstances binding us down which genius alone can never break. Friends then come in to our assistance; mere acquaintances are not enough and friends are only to be acquired by that mutual confidence which reposes trust and seeks it in return. In this way a friend becomes as it were a part of self and we almost by intention rush to his assistance when needed. Respect for talent is not sufficient to obtain what is called the favor of any one. Had you, Doolittle, told those whom you had considered your friends candidly your intention that you had determined to be more studious and that though you liked to receive visits from your friends, yet if they were not so frequent they would be more acceptable, I am sure they would have been as warmly your friends and would have done all in their power to give you opportunity for "solitary reflection" if you chose, by using their influence to dissuade others from visiting you too frequently. I can assure you my affection cooled greatly toward you during the last term as you seemed to avoid that reposing of confidence which *he who would* be my friend must observe towards me. I speak thus plainly because my pride was a little touched by your neglect. It may be my imagination presented the construction I put upon your conduct, yet I must say you seemed to part with Thompson with much more reluctance and a greater demonstration of affection than with

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me. But I'll not trouble myself with the thought. If you have altered your opinion of me I'll not shove myself upon your regard and will cut the tie that once bound us together, though I'd do it in sorrow not in anger. We once were intimate and you have read the secret emotions of my heart. I'll shut the page if you wish and we will be strangers to each other hereafter. But if this construction is incorrect only say it and we will again be more true and firmer friends than ever. There is one expression in your last letter I have read again and again, still the same feeling of doubt comes over me; it is this: "that there was a change in my actions towards you in private my feelings can *hardly* be persuaded to believe." As much as if you were to say I cannot tell whether my feelings would lead me to esteem you or not. But enough of this till you give me an explanation of your feelings. *Now* to me mine are those of friendship and esteem towards you. I would not be back to Geneva for any consideration. It has been the making of me coming here. Here you can feel yourself a man and act in accordance with your feelings. If you have talents and possess generous sentiments your society will be courted. Your resources are drawn out and as old Prex says, "College is a world in miniature in which you may learn how to mould your conduct when you go out into the world." We have a paper in opposition to the Parthenon and should you feel a disposition to write something for it we will receive it gladly. I wish you would conclude to take it. You may have the back numbers or commence the year with the next number. Try and see if you can get any one in college to take it. It is only $1.00 a year. Geer, Dick, Taber and Platt are all well pleased with old Union and only regret, as we all do, that we did not come before. Taber wishes you to send on his papers if you will. They all send their respects. Tell Bates and Smith I shall write to them very soon, and believe as ever,

Your firm friend,

M. SCHUYLER.

Thompson sends his respects and says he will write soon.

P. S.—Enclosed is $2 which I have shamefully neglected sending you before. M. S.

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St. Louis, April 28, 1866.

My dear old friend:

I have been watching your course in the Senate the past winter with a good deal of interest. I can assure you I am proud of the noble stand you have taken in supporting the President in his wise and conservative measures he has recommended and as far as he has been permitted, has carried out. It does seem to me that the honour and prosperity, if not the very life of the nation, depends upon his being sustained. I have no party predilections to influence my judgment. When I had anything to do with politics, I was an old Whig, and had, therefore, an *inherent dislike* to the Democratic party.

But in the present emergency, they seem to have taken the right position, and had I anything to do with public affairs now I should lay all prejudice aside and give them or whoever stands by the President my hearty support. We have had bitter and revengeful feelings enough among the people of the various sections of the country and it is time now that we should forget and forgive. In my humble sphere as a minister of Christ I try to preach and to practice this teaching.

I go over frequently and talk with Judge Bates, the former attorney-general, and we agree perfectly in the course which the President seems to have marked out. I love my country next to my God and desire her honour, peace and prosperity, and I can but believe that she has yet a glorious future before her. But in my humble estimation Sumner and Stevens are not the men to bear her onward in the right path. Nor do I believe that the people will sustain them.

I have written this letter as the outgush of my feelings and because I have vanity enough to believe that *even my good opinion* of your course would not be without its value.

Praying for God's blessing upon you and yours, I am, as ever,

Truly your friend,

M. SCHUYLER.

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St. Louis, April 13, 1889.

My Dear old friend:

Yours of the 11th just rec'd. I am sorry I can not recall the incident to which you refer. There certainly can be no objection in the mention of it, as the author need not give his authority, and your memory, as it naturally would be, would be very distinct on that point.

But the sentiment, "Liberty—Liberty," was eminently characteristic of you at that period of your life. I remember well your devotion to Jeffersonian Democracy. Thomas Jefferson, I might almost say, was your idol. This was one of the subjects on which we did not agree. I was a Whig, and I must say my opinions as far as I had any, inclined to Federalism, and to the extermination of the evils of slavery, as those of an institution not sinful "per se." But your opinions were decidedly Anti-Slavery, and your subsequent connection with the Republican party was what I would have anticipated.

I am happy to say that as I look back, your whole political course commends itself to me as one of which you may well be proud.

I am glad to hear that there is a volume of your speeches to be published and with it a sketch of your life.

I shall certainly procure a copy when published.

By the way, I believe our old friend, James Smith, will remember your *maiden speech*.

With cherished memories of our early friendship, and with the assurance that it has not grown cold, I am as ever,

Sincerely yours,

M. SCHUYLER.

HON'L JAS. R. DOOLITTLE.

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FIRST THRESHING MACHINE ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS.

The first threshing machine ever transported across the plains by ox-train was taken across in 1859 by the freighting company of Russell, Majors & Waddell. It went via Old Oregon Trail to Fort Bridger, Wyoming, though it was then in the vast unorganized territory. Judge Carter, a government trader and contractor who owned a ranch near Bridger, had begun raising wheat on a scale too large for the old method of tramping out with oxen, and ordered a small separator and treadmill power of the "Groundhog" type. The separator was loaded on a freight wagon, and put in charge of William Grinstead, who had been wagon-master for this company of freighters for several years.

The machine was loaded at Leavenworth, Kansas, and presented a striking spectacle when the train was viewed from a distance. Freighters and immigrants who had taken the road on the opposite side of the Platte river came across at the first opportunity to see whether or not it was a steamboat they had seen being towed across the plains by ten yoke of oxen.

A premium of $75 was given the wagon-master for getting the machine safely across 1500-mile trip and unloaded at its destination. At all rough places on the road, ropes were tied to the machine, and with five men on each side it was held on the wagon.

The little station of Carter was named in honor of this pioneer ranchman, near whose ranch the Union Pacific was built a number of years later.

H. F. GRINSTEAD,
Morrisville, Mo.

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MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

TWELFTH PAPER.

With some additions the following data is of inscriptions in the new cemetery at Warrensburg, of persons who died previous to 1876, and of later deaths of persons more than 75 years old:

Mary Ann, wife of Henry Albin, born in Harrison County, Ind., Dec. 27, 1832; died Dec. 13, 1881.

Mary Allison, born Nov. 27, 1794; died Dec. 28, 1884.

Henry B. Anderson, Dec. 27, 1852; June 10, 1891.

Newton H. Baxter, Co. C, 18th Reg. Ky., Vol. Inf., b. Dec. 13, 1828.

Sallie, wife of N. H. Baxter, b. Oct. 15, 1827.

L. M. Berry, D. D., Apr. 12, 1828; Mch. 25, 1902.

Martha B., his wife, Sept. 13, 1823; Aug. 10, 1907.

Josiah D. Biser, b. in Frederick County, Md., Feb. 26, 1833; d. Feb. 28, 1894.

F. M. Bixby, b. Feb. 23, 1839; d. Feb. 3, 1885.

James Bales, Co. F, 61st Ill. Inf.

Rebecca Brinkerhoff, wife of G. S. Brinkerhoff; b. July 12, 1836; d. Nov. 19, 1893.

Frederick Brock, b. in Germany, May 29, 1827; d. June 19, 1892.

Barbara Willner Brock, b. in Germany, Sept. 7, 1819; d. May 19, 1879.

Annie M., dau. of F. and A. Brock, b. Oct. 26, 1865; d. July 21, 1879.

Chas. D. Brookes, b. Jan. 27, 1818; d. July 30, 1906.

Susan Barnes, his wife, b. Feb. 15, 1820; d. July 31, 1906.

James L. Brown, b. Jan. 11, 1847; d. Oct. 10, 1897; Co. H, 125th Ill. Inf.

John Burns, b. County Wicklow, Ireland; d. Jan. 13, 1886, aged 82 years.

Sarah Burns, b. in County Wicklow, Ireland; d. Jan 12, 1886; aged 75 years.

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R. S. Campbell, b. Sept. 25, 1844; d. May 1, 1893.
Diana, wife of Dr. F. A. Carter, b. May 26, 1839; d. Apr. 26, 1892.
John T. Cheatham, b. Mar. 8, 1836; d. Mar. 23, 1901.
Israel Christian, d. Oct. 6, 1875, aged 80 years, 2 months and 15 days. "By strangers honored and by strangers mourned."
Abraham Cole, b. Dec. 3, 1816; d. Jan. 22, 1888.
Minerva, his wife, b. Nov. 28, 1820; d. Dec. 15, 1890.
Isabella, wife of Bennet Crook, b. June 10, 1821; d. Jan. 19, 1880.
Jeremiah Crowley, b. in County Cork, Ireland, Jan 1, 1822; d. Jan. 19, 1890.
John Culp, b. Oct 6, 1846; d. Dec. 31, 1905.
Hannah, wife of W. Cummings, d. July 26, 1865; aged 68 years, 4 months, 2 days.
John Cummings, d. Sept. 26, 1864, aged 40 years, 1 month, 19 days.
Ambrose Daly, b. in County Limerick, Ireland, Aug 11, 1827; d. Sept. 13, 1867.
James Daly, b. in County Limerick, Ireland, Jan. 1, 1830; d. Feb. 20, 1883.
Mary R. Delaplain, b. Jan. 15, 1849; d. June 27, 1908.
Jane S., wife of J. W. Delaplain, d. Dec. 21, 1893; aged 85 years, 4 months, 17 days.
Willard J. Ditler, b. Feb. 10, 1840; d. June 27, 1899.
Emma Morrison Ditler, b. Sept. 30, 1850.
Emily, wife of J. E. Dodds, d. Nov. 1, 1869; aged 55 years, 7 months, 3 days.
John E. Dodds, d. Apr. 15, 1888; aged 74 years, 2 months, 20 days.
Granville A. Douglass, b. Mch. 10, 1838.
Emma Pyle, his wife, b. Jan. 31, 1833; d. June 23, 1907.
Ebbyline Lydia Drake, b. 1829; d. 1899.
Zachariah H. Emerson, b. in Kentucky, May 15, 1824; d. Aug. 1, 1890.
Sarah A., wife of Z. H. Emerson, b. in Kentucky, Oct. 16, 1822; d. June 3, 1905.

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Wm. W., Sarah E., John H., Mary E., children of L. H. and S. A. Emerson.
Anthony Fisher, b. Feb. 28, 1831.
Martha A. Edwards, wife of Anthony Fisher, b. Oct. 25, 1832; d. Mch. 7, 1904.
James M. Foster, b. Aug. 17, 1819; d. Aug. 24, 1878.
Peter Fox, d. Aug. 12, 1872; aged 66 years.
Rebecca M., wife of James Gilliland, d. Jan 8, 1871; aged 39 years, 5 months, 21 days.
Naomi A., daughter of Jas. and Rebecca M. Gilliland, d. Nov. 19, 1888, aged 32 years, 2 months, 21 days.
Wm. M. Grainger, d. Feb. 25, 1909; aged 64 years.
Rebecca Grainger, d. Oct. 10, 1899, aged 39 years.
A. B. Grainger, b. Dec. 5, 1812; d. Feb. 8, 1894.
Susanna Eagan, his wife, b. Sept. 10, 1818; d. Dec. 27, 1893.
W. M. Greenup, d. Sept. 9, 1872; aged 37 years, 8 months, 1 day.
Henry M. Green, b. Sept. 22, 1840; d. Apr. 5, 1897.
Maggie Reichle, his wife, b. Dec. 7, 1845; d. Aug. 10, 1895.
John Green, b. July 1, 1838; d. Oct. 10, 1878.
Margaret L., wife of John Goens, b. Nov. 25, 1839; d. Nov. 29, 1880.
Alice C., wife of John A. Graham, b. Aug. 21, 1865; d. Apr. 29, 1895.
James P. Grinstead, b. July 9, 1856; d. Jan. 4, 1894.
Samuel Grinstead, b. Dec. 18, 1818; d. Mch. 10, 1900.
Helen M., wife of S. Grinstead, b. June 12, 1830; d. Feb. 24, 1906.
Caroline E., wife of P. Halfert, d. Apr. 21, 1871; aged 23 years, 4 days.
S. Z. Hamm, d. Apr. 7, 1882 in seventh-second year.
Wm. Harmon, 1818-1892.
Mary M., his wife, 1825-1898.
Elizabeth Bashore, wife of F. Harmoney, d. Nov. 7, 1883; aged 71 years, 8 months, 29 days.
S. Y. Harris, b. Oct. 12, 1826; d. Sept. 18, 1884.
Jas. L. Hickman, b. May 31, 1831; d. May 21, 1870.
Junius B. Hildreth, b. Mch. 22, 1833; d. Oct. 18, 1899.

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Elizabeth Baird, b. May 12, 1842.
Sarah E. Hinson, b. June 18, 1828; d. Feb. 27, 1906.
Sarah E. Hinson, daughter of W. W. and L. Doak, b. Aug. 29, 1868; d. Sept. 8, 1887.
John Hughes, b. in Columbia, Ky., Apr. 27, 1800; d. Feb. 5, 1883.
Mary Diddle, wife of J. Hughes, b. in Columbia, Ky., June 10, 1816; d. Dec. 10, 1882.
Children of J. & M. Hughes; Wm. D. Hughes, d. Nov. 30, 1859; aged 17 years, 7 months, 16 days.
John B. Hughes, d. Apr. 16, 1858, aged 9 years, 2 months, 7 days.
James C. T. Hughes, d. Nov. 18, 1856; aged 2 years, 9 months, 24 days.
Sallie S., wife of H. Y. Hughes, b. in Adair County, Ky., Apr. 22, 1841; d. May 6, 1889.
Harvey Y. Hughes, b. in Jackson County, Tenn., June 27, 1827; d. May 31, 1899.
Thos Hughes, d. July 30, 1888; aged 60 years, 10 months, 7 days.
Calvin C. Hunter, b. May 4, 1835.
Martha J., his wife, b. Mch. 28, 1832; d. July 1, 1907.
Preston Isaacs, b. Mch. 5, 1834.
Elizabeth Isaacs, b. Aug. 4, 1840; d. Feb. 25, 1899.
David W. Johnson, d. Oct. 1, 1851, aged 52 years.
Vir Jane Johnston, b. Mch. 11, 1828.
Joel Prewitt, b. Nov. 13, 1824; d. June 10, 1896.
Rosana N., wife of Thos Kane, d. Mch. 10, 1884, aged 63 years.
Magdalene, wife of J. H. Kemmerly, d. Sept. 8, 1869; aged 35 years.
Henry Kemmerly, d. June 10, 1885, aged 67 years, 6 months, 13 days.
Garrett Crownover Land, b. in St. Clair County, Ill., Aug. 3, 1846; graduated in McKendree College, June 7, 1868; graduated in Law Department of Harvard University, June 26, 1872; d. Nov. 4, 1882.
Minerva Primm, wife of Nathan Land, b. in St. Clair County, Ill., Mch. 21, 1822; d. Sept. 29, 1899.

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Mary Joan Lancaster, b. in St. Clair County, Ill., June 11, 1854; d. Apr. 12, 1879. Niece of Mrs. Land.

Nathan Land, Capt. Co. K, 117th Ill. Vol. Inf., b. in St. Clair County, Ill., May 4, 1817; d. Aug. 8, 1885.

S. J. Larue, Co. 11, 3d Pa. Res.

T. J. Leake, b. July 31, 1862; d. Apr. 20, 1899.

John L. Lobban, b. in Charlottesville, Va., June 18, 1836; d. Apr. 29, 1895.

Hannah, wife of Sylvenis Lockard, b. Jan. 25, 1845; d. Sept. 6, 1869.

Conrad Loun, Co. C, 27th Mo. Mtd. Inf.

W. S. McCoy, d. Oct. 7, 1892; aged 49 years.

Elizabeth, his wife, b. June 15, 1842; d. June 6, 1880.

Sarah, wife of Hugh McCoy, d. Mch. 18, 1884; aged 81 years.

Robt. Wm. McGinnis, M. D., b. Nov. 30, 1862; d. Feb. 21, 1899.

Dan McNair, b. May 19, 1842; d. Oct. 12, 1903.

John C. Macon, b. Mch. 6, 1830; d. Nov. 15, 1903.

Josephine, his wife, b. Oct. 18, 1840; d. Nov. 27, 1905.

Rev. B. G. Manard, D. D., b. Oct. 9, 1841; d. Jan. 27, 1899.

Lilly A., wife of Wm. S. Mikel, d. Jan. 1, 1870; aged 29 years, 29 days.

Wm. S. Mikel, b. in Wilkesboro, N. C., Jan. 9, 1827; d. Feb. 28, 1903.

Nancy J., his wife, d. Apr. 8, 1866, aged 31 years, 3 months, 4 days.

Willson Moore, b. May 24, 1834; d. Mch. 13, 1899.

James C. Morrow, d. Mch. 15, 1875; aged 62 years, 11 months, 9 days.

Margaret W. Morrow, b. Apr. 16. 1892; aged 79 years, 10 months, 26 days.

Jno. Murphy, Co. E, 1st Mo. Cav., b. in County Cork, Ireland, Dec. 21, 1823; d. Mch. 9, 1904.

Eliza, his wife, b. in County Cork, Ireland, 1830; d. Feb. 7, 1902.

Abraham Newcomer, d. Mch. 21, 1909; aged 73 years, 10 months, 21 days.

Agnes Newcomer, d. Mch. 27, 1897; aged 54 years.

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Sarah Ann Creese, wife of John Norris, b. May 21, 1828; d. May 23, 1899.

Mary, wife of J. W. Ogburn, b. Nov. 1, 1824; d. July 30, 1906.

G. W. O'Neal, d. May 20, 1881; aged 62 years, 9 months, 4 days.

Augustus H. Osgood, d. May 8, 1875; aged 41 years, 4 months, 16 days.

Chas. N. Palmer, M. D., b. Feb. 25, 1831; d. July 21, 1899.

M. J. Pennock, d. Mch. 19, 1869; aged 38 years, 3 months, 7 days.

Amos R. Phelps, b. Jan. 5, 1854; d. Mch. 23, 1906.

Sarah Hoover, wife of M. A. Plumer, b. Nov. 16, 1838; d. Jan. 9, 1907.

M. A. Plumer, b. Feb. 28, 1834; d. Dec. 18, 1907.

Alex S. Porter, d. July 31, 1870; aged 46 years, 5 months, 4 days.

Andrew Powell, b. Mch. 15, 1840; d. Nov. 24, 1907; Co. H, 116th Ohio Inf.

Rachel, his wife, b. Mch. 1, 1841.

Maria Louisa, wife of John A. Powers, b. July 30, 1829; d. Apr. 4, 1902.

Elizabeth, wife of Robert Price, d. May 26, 1873; aged 70 years.

James Lester Prouty, b. Nov. 13, 1851. While on his way to attend the Normal School he perished in the fire which destroyed Mings Hotel, Nov. 29, 1873.

Phoebe G., wife of Noah Redford, b. May 30, 1804; d. Aug. 20, 1885.

Noah Redford, b. Jan. 13, 1805; d. Dec. 18, 1888.

James Reed, b. Sept. 25, 1827; d. Jan. 10, 1906.

Mary, his wife, b. Aug. 2, 1817; d. July 24, 1870.

A. Remison, d. Nov. 24, 1876; aged 55 years, 8 months, 11 days.

John M. Rice, b. Jan. 12, 1833; d. Oct. 8, 1904.

Rev. Geo. V. Ridley, b. July 3, 1811; d. Oct. 21, 1892.

Emma C., his wife, b. Apr. 22, 1812; d. Jan. 21, 1892.

Joseph Rittman, b. Oct. 12, 1844; d. Feb. 7, 1907.

Eliza E. Sampsal, b. Mch. 17, 1844.

Dr. Chas. Robinson, d. Aug. 31, 1889; aged 56 years.

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H. H. Robinson, Co. E, 149th Ohio Inf.
J. H. Rowley, b. Apr. 14, 1834; d. Nov. 15, 1879.
Chas. E., son of J. H. and N. J. Rowley, b. Apr. 20, 1870; d. Aug. 22, 1870.
Maud M., daughter of same, b. May 12, 1868; d. Aug. 29, 1881.
Fannie D. Russell, b. Aug. 31, 1792; d. Feb. 1, 1879.
Henry Russell, b. June 28, 1788; d. Oct. 8, 1876.
James Ryan, b. Feb. 15, 1860. Killed on Easter Sunday, Apr. 19, 1908, while performing his official duty as city marshal.
J. W. Schnegelsiepen, Co. E, 33d Ill. Inf.
Stella Morrow, wife of L. J. Schofield, b. June 30, 1867; d. Mch. 20, 1896.
Wm. G. Scott, b. Apr. 7, 1832; d. July 26, 1899.
Wm. Sensenderfer, b. Apr. 13, 1814; d. Aug. 16, 1895.
Arminda C.. his wife, b. Apr. 2, 1824; d. Feb. 6, 1899.
John Sumati, b. Jan. 1, 1842; Co. G, 7th Reg. Mo. S. M. Cav.
Sarah J. Sumati, b. Apr. 2, 1841; d. July 30, 1898.
Stephen Sims, b. Jan. 9, 1819; d. May 23, 1893.
Wm. F. Sperling, b. Nov. 21, 1826.
Minna J., his wife, b. June 26, 1826; d. Feb. 2, 1901.
Joseph D. Stanver, b. Jan. 17, 1835; d. Feb. 26, 1905.
Elizabeth, his wife, b. Nov. 30, 1839; d. Dec. 10, 1892.
John C. Steele, b. Dec. 22, 1812; d. Dec. 10, 1887.
Joseph Taylor, son of John and Lousa Steele, b. Jan. 6, 1849; d. Oct. 25, 1880.
Lousa Pressly, wife of John C. Steele, b. June 13, 1818; d. Mch. 12, 1890.
Lucie A. M., wife of J. D. Steele, d. Dec. 17, 1866, in her thirty-first year.
Nancy W., wife of Geo. Stepper, d. Sept. 7, 1877; aged, 38 years, 9 months, 6 days.
Dr. Chas. P. Stevenson, b. Mch. 6, 1817, in Lewis County, Ky.; d. July 30, 1873.
J. B. Stillwell, Co. L, 11th Mo. Cav.
Oliver M. Stone, b. June 5, 1833; Co. H, 6th Mo. Cav.
Elizabeth A. Stone, b. June 4, 1834; d. Sept. 5, 1896.

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Oscar R. Stone, b. Oct. 9, 1870; d. June 23, 1898. Co. L. 4th Reg. Mo. Vol. Inf, Spanish American War.
Emma L. Strait, b. June 13, 1837; d. Apr. 4, 1909.
Maggie J. Kirby, b. Mch. 14, 1837; d. Apr. 7, 1909.
James D. Sullivan, b. Mch. 28, 1867; d. Mch. 23, 1902.
Kate Jay Sullivan, b. Mch. 28, 1835; d. June 7, 1903.
Clifton Thomson, b. Feb. 14, 1845; d. July 19, 1897.
Susan Vanarsdale, b. Aug. 26, 1812; d. Apr. 18, 1891.
G. T. Wilson, b. Feb. 24, 1841; d. June 30, 1899.
Alexander Wilson, b. Oct. 11, 1822; d. Oct. 6, 1877.
Eliza A., wife of S. Woolsey, d. Oct. 23, 1879; aged 49 years, 10 months, 6 days.
Adaline, daughter of S. and E. A. Woolsey, d. Jan. 3, 1877; aged 27 years, 3 months, 11 days.

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NOTES.

PRESERVATION OF MISSOURI PUBLICATIONS.

The secretary of the State Historical Society frequently learns of the wanton destruction of publications of historical value and of great enough importance, that one on learning of it cannot repress the feelings of disgust that the destructor had ever been placed in a position where it was possible for the destruction to take place. When it is done by some one who has not the education to allow him to appreciate what he does, we pity his ignorance, but when the destruction is done by a college man of education we wonder why dense ignorance can be combined with college education, and regret that the person ever got in a position above that of a section hand on a railroad. What will the reader think of the following case:

"Our . . . President, . . . desiring to have additional room for his own office, kept a fire burning on the campus for several days, destroying the 'trash' that we had collected. With this went duplicate unbound sets of Scribner's, Century, Popular Science Monthly, Harper's, old college pamphlets, catalogues, miscellaneous papers and many things, valuable historically, which were all consigned to the flames. The only complete file of the Missouri House and Senate Journals and Reports and Laws of Missouri were dumped by the wheelbarrow load, helter skelter, into a damp basement room in another building, where for all I know, they remain a prey to mildew and mice."

Degradation from office and a jail sentence would be the only adequate punishment for such conduct!

Mr. Wm. E. Walton, of Butler, Missouri, an old time friend of the editor, in a letter with some very commendatory references to the Review, states that his grandfather, Samuel

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Turley, moved from Madison County, Kentucky, to Cooper County, Missouri, in 1813, and with his wife lived sixty years on the land they settled. His mother was born on that farm in 1824, and he was born in 1842 and reared within a mile of it. Mr. Walton is the president of the Old Settlers' Association, of Bates County, and is interested in all matters of Missouri history. He is also president of the Walton Trust Company of Butler, and in that connection has been known by the editor for many years.

REVOLUTIONARY GRAVE. The D. A. R. at Independence, Missouri, have obtained from the government a marker for the grave of Isaac Drake, a soldier of the Revolutionary war, who died in 1837. The grave is on the Jackson farm, ten miles east of Independence, and not far from old Six Mile Church.

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BOOK NOTICES.

A BETRAYED TRUST. A story of our own times and country. A romance of the middle west. By W. T. McClure. Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1903.

The author of this story was born near Washburn, Barry County, Missouri, and for some years was a teacher and afterwards a Methodist minister. While presiding elder of the Boonville district he wrote the above book, while waiting in depots and riding on cars.

The book was written as a character study for the Epworth Leaguers of the Methodist church, and pleads for fidelity in the keeping of vows whose motives and purposes are good.

We are obliged to the reverend doctor for adding the book to our collection of Missouri authors.

SAINT PAUL METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH. Brief history with list of charter members, 1831 and 1868, together with the names of present membership. By GEO. M. JONES. 1904. Springfield, Mo., 41 pp., 4 plates.

The Society would be glad to acknowledge the receipt of several publications similar to above, in each number of the Review.

DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTSFORSCHUNG FUER MISSOURI. (German Historical Researches of Missouri.) We welcome the first number of the above quarterly, of which our friend, Chas. Botz of Sedalia, is one of the editors.

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NECROLOGY.

THOMAS F. LOCKHART, forty-three years of age, of which twenty-seven had been spent in bed, welcomed death on the 6th of August, last.

He took to his bed Christmas night, 1886, following a long ride through a cold rain, and for more than a quarter of a century remained in it, his joints so ossified that he could only slightly shrug one shoulder, and the middle joints of two fingers, and yet with such a handicap, he wrote several books from the proceeds of which he supported himself and paid for a constant nurse. He resided at Wellington, Missouri.

HARRY H. MITCHELL, a member of this Society, died July 24, 1913, while on a train on the M. K. & T. Railroad, enroute to St. Louis from Boonville. He was born in England about 64 years ago, and came to Polk county in this State, where he was reared and educated. He began newspaper work at Bolivar, and went from there to Springfield, where he became chief of the fire department. At a fire he received an injury causing the amputation of a leg. From Springfield he went to Clinton and established the Henry County Republican, and was later appointed postmaster. When Hon. John M. Swanger was Secretary of State he gave Mr. Mitchell a place in his office, and while there Mr. Mitchell compiled the Official Manual, or Blue Book. During the past sixteen years he was an active worker in the campaigns of the Republican party, and of the Republican Editorial Association, he had been secretary from its organization fifteen years ago. In 1912 he was elected its secretary and treasurer for life. He was for a time clerk of the Springfield Court of Appeals.

While a boy he enlisted in the Union army and served till the close of the war. He is survived by his widow and six children.

REV. W. J. PATRICK, of Bowling Green, a member of this Society and the oldest Baptist minister in his part of the State, fell dead August 18, 1913. In the morning he had

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preached a funeral sermon, and in the afternoon had attended another funeral.

HON. H. J. SIMMONS, a Democratic representative in the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth General Assemblies of Missouri from Shelby county, former editor of the Clarence Courier in that county, for four years a mayor of Clarence, and chairman of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, and editor of the Kirksville Democrat and Kirksville Morning News, committed suicide at Kirksville, July 11, 1913. While in the legislature he was floor leader of his party.

He was born at Coldwater, Branch county, Michigan, and came to Missouri when one year old. He was educated in the public schools and at college at Glasgow, Missouri. He left a note to his wife saying that his act was for the best, and that he would meet her in Heaven, indicating that his mind had become unbalanced.

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VOL. VIII. JANUARY, 1914. NO. 2.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

PUBLISHED BY

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $1.00 PER YEAR.
ISSUED QUARTERLY.

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER, AT COLUMBIA, MO., JULY 18, 1907.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

EDITOR

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

Committee on Publication:
JONAS VILES, ISIDOR LOEB, F. A. SAMPSON.

VOL. VIII. JANUARY, 1914. NO. 2.

CONTENTS.

The Value and the Sale of the Missouri Slave, by Harrison A. Trexler - - - - - - 69
The Old Town of Elizabeth, by Ovid Bell - 86
Early Missouri Roads, by G. C. Broadhead - - 90
Echoes of Indian Emigration, by David W. Eaton - - - - - - - - - 98
Famous Goose Case, by N. T. Gentry - - 100
Soldiers of War of 1812 - - - - - 102
Notes - - - - - - - - - - 103
Book Notices - - - - - - - - 105
Necrology - - - - - - - - 110
Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, Thirteenth Paper - - - - - - 111
Death Notices - - - - - - - - 113

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 8 JANUARY, 1914. NO. 2.

THE VALUE AND THE SALE OF THE MISSOURI SLAVE.

No problem concerning the slave is more difficult to handle than the value of this form of property. The selling price of individual negroes, and of lots of them, can be found in the county records and in the newspapers. But to generalize on these figures for any particular period, or to compare values in different periods, would be most misleading. For example, if a male slave twenty years of age sold for $500 in 1820, and another of the same age sold for $1,400 in 1860 we learn little. The negro in the first instance may have been less healthy, less tractable, and less intelligent than the other. Therefore the $900 difference could not fairly represent the general rise in prices nor the increased value of slave labor. To illustrate this point concretely—two slaves were sold in Ray county in 1854, both were twenty-six years of age, yet one brought $1,295 and the other but $670.[1] This shows how unsafe it is to compare specific sales.

However, by comparing the prices brought by a lot of negroes about the same age and in the same locality we gain an approximately sound conclusion. In general it can be said that a gradual rise in slave values is apparent up to the Civil War. It was exceptional indeed when a negro brought over

1. Notice of the sale of the slaves of the Estate of Thomas Reeves (Richmond Weekly Mirror, Jan. 5, 1855).

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$500 before 1830,[2] a prime male servant from eighteen to thirty-five years of age was in this early period worth from $450 to $500, and the women about a fourth less.[3] When Auguste Chouteau's negroes were appraised in 1829, the eleven men among them who were between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five averaged $486.35 each, the highest being worth $500 and the lowest $300. The eleven women between the ages of sixteen and thirty-nine averaged $316.35, the highest valuation being $350 and the lowest $130.[4]

From the third decade of the century on there is an increase in values. Men brought considerably more by the late thirties.

2. The following representative examples of slave values for the Territorial period are taken from the St. Louis Probate Records. In the will of the Widow Quenel of March, 1805, we find four slaves listed and valued as follows: Two women at 376 and 641 "piastres", respectively; Sophie, age 13, at 900 piastres; Alexander, age 5, at 300; and a cow at 10 piastres. If the latter was a normal animal we get some idea of the comparative value of the negroes (MS. Probate Records, St. Louis county, Estate No. 7). Joseph Robidoux's estate was probated in August, 1810. His slaves were listed as follows: Felecite, with child at breast, 200 piastres; her daughter of 8 years at 150, a girl of 6 at 125, and "Une autre petite Negrette," 100 piastres, (ibid, Estate No. 50). In 1817 the following values were attached to slaves in Cape Girardeau county: Two men, $900; a woman and two children, $800; a woman and child, $550; a woman, $350, and five men at $2700 (MS. Probate Records, Cape Girardeau county, Appraisement of the Estate of Elijah Betty, Filed June 2, 1817, Estate No. 628). H. R. Schoolcraft, writing in 1820 or 1821, stated that a good slave sold for $600 in Missouri (Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley (New York 1825), p. 232).

3. In 1830 the following values were given in St. Louis: Charles, age 32, $450; Anthony, age 30, $400; Antrim, age 24, $450; Allen, age 24, $500 (Estate of John C. Sullivan, MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 882, Appraisement filed Oct. 9, 1830). By comparing the appraisements and sale bills it was found that they correspond very closely, in some cases negroes selling for more than the appraisal and in some for less. In Pike county in 1835 a negress aged 22 and her three children, aged four years, three years and three months respectively, sold for $650 (MS. Receipt of sale dated May 2, 1835, Dougherty Papers, Missouri Historical Society).

4. MS. Copy of appraisement dated May 11, 1829, Missouri Historical Society.

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In 1838 prime hands were bringing from $600 to $900 in St. Louis.[5]

Up to 1840 female slaves were worth from $300 to $350 when men were bringing from $500 to $600. Children from two to five years of age were sold for from $100 to $200. In 1838 W. H. Ashley's women and children were valued as follows in St. Louis: Berril (boy), age 12, $350; Celia, age 9, $250; Lucy, age 9, $250; Catherine, age 7, $200; Betsy, age 30 and her infant son, $500.[6]

For the golden age of slave values we must turn to the fifties. The prime male slave of Missouri in 1860 was worth around $1,300 and the negresses about $1,000. The fabled $2000 negro is more often found in story than in record. "Uncle" Eph Sanders of Platte City, still a very active and intelligent negro, claims that his master refused $2000 for him in 1859 when he was twenty-three.[7] But contemporaries put the normal limit at about $1500. Mr. Paxton says that stout, hemp-breaking negroes "sold readily for from $1200 to $1400" in the heyday of Platte county hemp culture.[8] Dr. John Doy claims

5. In this year the estate of Thomas Withington received $800 each for two men, aged 22 and 25, and $600 each for one 16 and one 23, (MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 1374, bill of sale dated June 14, 1838). This same year a man of 21 was rated at $650, and one of 35 at $900 (ibid, Estate of W. H. Ashley, Estate No. 1377, Inventory and appraisement, filed June 20, 1838). In 1844, in Saline county good hands brought around the same figures. Thomas Smith's blacks were valued as follows: $500 each for three men, $550 each for two others, and another for $600 (MS. Probate Records. Saline county, Box No. 248, Inventory and Appraisement, filed Nov. 11, 1844).

6. MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 1377, Inventory and Appraisement, filed June 20, 1838.

7. Mr. Hunter B. Jenkins of St. Louis claims that a good sound black brought from $1500 to $2000 in the late fifties.

8. William M. Paxton, Annals of Platte County, Missouri (Kansas City, 1897), p. 37). G. B. Merrick says that while on the Mississippi as a boatman in the late fifties a male slave sold for from $800 to $1500, (Old Times on the Upper Mississippi, 1854-1863 (Cleveland, 1909), p. 64). At the Lexington Pro-Slavery Convention of 1855, President James Shannon of the State University declared that the average Missouri slave was worth $600, and that field hands "will now readily sell for $1200" (Pro-

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that a slave sold in Weston in the late fifties for $1800.[9]

If the above figures are exceptional we nevertheless have plenty of evidence that negroes were very valuable in these years. In 1854, the slaves of Thomas Reeves were sold in Richmond for fine prices. The ages and price of these negroes were as follows:[10]

Man,	age 23, price	$1440.
Man,	age 26, price	1295.
Man,	age 23, price	1249.
Man,	age 40, price	1115.
Man,	age 31, price	911.
Man,	age 33, price	904.
Man,	age 26, price	670.
Man,	age 58, price	115.
Boy,	age 13, price	851.
Boy,	age 14, price	825.
Boy,	age 11, price	795.
Boy,	age 13, price	775.
Woman,	age 49, price	510.
Girl,	age 12, price	942.

ceedings and Resolutions of the Pro-Slavery Convention, held at Lexington, July 13 to 15, 1855 (St. Louis, Republican Office, 1855), p. 7).

9. Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas (New York, 1860), p. 59.

10. Richmond Weekly Mirror, Jan. 5, 1855. $1000 to $1200 seems to have been the common figure for good men in the late fifties. In 1858 in Boone county, four men were valued at $1200 each, one at $1100, and another at $1000. Two women were rated at $900 each (MS. Probate Records, Boone County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, Book B, p. 87-8, filed Dec. 30, 1858). The following year in Greene county two men were valued at $1100 each (Estate of Jonathan Carthel, MS. Probate Records, Greene County, Inventories and Appraisements, Book A, p. 31, filed Aug. 4, 1859). In 1860 in the same county a man was listed at $1200 (Estate of Jacob Rodenkamer, ibid, p. 160, filed May 18, 1860). The same year a woman was sold for $1100, and two men for $1150 and $1260 respectively (Estate of James Boaldin, ibid, p. 202, sale bill not dated). In Henry county in 1860, a man aged 29 was valued at $1250, a girl of twelve at $1000, and one of fifteen at the same figure. A girl of nine and two boys of seven were valued at $800 each, and a boy of five at $600 (MS. Estate of A. Embry, MS. Probate Records, Henry County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, p. 126, filed Sept. 26, 1860).

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In the same issue of the Richmond Weekly Mirror which published the above is an account of the sale of the negroes of Charity Creason, which were sold on January 1, 1855. They brought the following prices: A man, age 23, $1439; another, age 38, $1031; a woman, age 26, and her 18-month-old child, $1102.50; a girl, age 3, $400; and a woman of 59 for $1.

During the middle and late fifties all classes of negroes were priced high. In 1856 a lot of children were sold in Saline county. A boy of nine went for $550, one of seven for $500, and another of five for $300.[11] A Saline county inventory of 1859 shows what good prices negroes in general were commanding in the closing years of the slavery regime.[12]

Henry,	age 17, value	$1300.
Daniel,	age 36, value	1200.
George,	age 13, value	950.
Stephen,	age 8, value	650.
Addison,	age 8, value	550.
Thomas,	age 5, value	440.
Ellen,	age 20, value	$1300.
Mary,	age 21,	
(and child of		
14 months)	value	1250.
Susan,	age 15, value	1150.
Eliza,	age 17, value	1050.
Francis,	age 10, value	800.
Minerva,	age 12, value	800.
Marie,	age 35,	
(and son		

11. Estate of Benjamin Moberly, (MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Appraisements and Sales, 1855-1861, vol. 1, p. 118-9, filed Jan. 26, 1856). At Hannibal on April 15, 1855, a girl of nine sold for $450, and a boy of four for $321 (St. Louis Weekly Pilot, Apr. 21, 1855).

12. Estate of H. Eustace (MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Appraisements and Sales, 1855-61, vol. i, p. 602-3, filed Apr. 4, 1859). In this same year, two men, ages not given, were appraised in Saline county at $1300 each, and another at $1100. A mother and child were together valued at $1100 (Estate of Samuel M. McDonald, ibid, Probate files, Box No. 169, Inventory filed Nov. 20, 1859). In these Records there are many similar valuations.

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18 months) value 775.
Delia, age 46, value 500.
Julia, age 4, value 400.
A girl, age 6 mos., value 50.

But for top prices we turn to Boone county where in 1860 George W. Gordon's blacks brought superior valuations:[13]

Lou, age 25, value $1500.
Horace, age 30, value 1500.
Charles, age 34, value 1600.
Roger, age 36, value 1500.

It appears from the foregoing pages that the highest official valuation placed upon a negro man was $1600, and upon a woman, $1300. A difficulty in finding the exact price of slave women is the fact that small children were often included with them.

When the Civil War opened and escapes became more numerous the value of slave property began to decline. Compared with the above figures we have the following appraisement of the estate of Lawson Calvin of Saline county, filed July 11, 1861, after the war had engulfed the State in a torrent of strife:[14]

Lewis, age 18, value $800.
George, age 12, value 600.
Lewis, age 47, value 500.
Henry, age 7, value 300.
Narcissa, age 16, value 600.
Mag, age 40, value 275.

Nevertheless it is surprising how slaves persisted as property in the State during the War. The prices kept fairly high.

13. MS. Probate Records, Boone County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, Book B, p. 287, Inventory filed Dec. 25, 1860). In 1859, William W. Hudson's negro named Beverley, age 29, was valued at $1500, three other men at $1200 each, and four men at $1000 each, (ibid, p. 170, filed Sept. 12, 1859).

14. MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Inventories and Appraisements, 1855-61, vol. i, p. 677. The appraisement of the estate of Elizabeth Huff of July 7, 1861, bears similar testimony to the effect of the War on slave property (ibid).

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The probate records of Lafayette, Missouri's greatest slave county, bear witness to this fact. Two men were actually appraised at $1100 and $800, respectively, and a woman at $1000 in November, 1861.[15] In January, 1862, a woman was valued at $650 and another at $550, and a boy of seventeen at $650, while one of the eleven was rated at $500.[16] By the last of July, 1863, the price had further decreased. But although Gettysburg had been fought and the State was overrun by bushwhackers, the price dropped but did not fall, as one conversant with conditions in the border-states in those years would expect. In the above month two women, aged 23 and 16 were appraised at $300 each, and a boy of eight at $400.[17] But slaves were not merely appraised this late. On June 3, 1863, the negroes of Samuel F. Taylor of Lafayette county were actually sold as follows: Amanda, $380; Milky (girl), $370; Jack, $305; Georgetta, $300; William, $250; Eunis, $200; and Sam, $200.[18] There is an appraisal of an estate in Lafayette county made on October 2, 1863, but the slaves listed are not assigned value.[19] Nevertheless over a month later, on November 5, 1863, negroes were still appraised, but it is the last official valuation of slave property in Lafayette county records. On that date a "boy" named Charles was appraised at $300 and a girl of fourteen at $200.[20]

The total value of slave property is of course very difficult to find. Contemporaries were far from agreeing on this point.

15. The Estate of Col. John Brown, Appraisement filed Nov. 18, 1861 (MS. Probate Records, Lafayette County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, vol. ii, p. 24).

16. Estate of John D. Bailey, Inventory filed Jan. 2, 1862 (ibid, p. 18).

17. Estate of Randell Latamer, Appraisement filed July (?), 1863 (ibid, p. 261.)

18. Estate of Samuel F. Taylor, Bill of Sale, filed June 6, 1863 (MS. Probate Records, Lafayette County, Inventories and Sale Bills, Book D, p. 69). Several slaves appraised in the fore part of this year are found in these records. The values show a gradual decline.

19. Estate of Western Woolard (ibid, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, vol. ii, p. 267).

20. Estate of F. U. Talliferro (ibid, p. 262).

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For instance in 1854 John Hogan of the "Republican," in an article to boom St. Louis and Missouri, placed the average value at $300.[21] Contrasted with this low estimate the "Address to the People of the United States," prepared by a committee of the Lexington Proslavery Convention of 1855, valued the 50,000 slaves of western Missouri at $25,000,000, or $500 each.[22] Governor Jackson in his inaugural address of January 3, 1861, estimated the 114,931 slaves of the State to be worth $100,000,000.[23] Of course the Governor was speaking in general terms, but his average would be nearly $700 the slave.

The above figures are in excess to those of the county assessors of the period. Tax values are usually considered lower than market values. The Jackson county tax average for 1860 was $483.05 per slave,[24] and that of Boone county $372.30.[25] The average in Pike county in 1859 was $434.78.[26] In 1856 in Buchanan county it was $450.92,[27] and that of the 170 slaves of its county seat, St. Joseph, was $434.70.[28] Evidently the assessors of the various counties had no uniform standard in rating slave values.

Despite the fact that the above figures vary they at least show that slave property was increasing in price. In 1828 the 239 slaves of Lafayette county were taxed at an average of

21. Thoughts about the City of St. Louis, pamphlet, p. 65 (Republican Office, 1854).

22. Proceedings of the Convention, p. 3, or in the Missouri Weekly Sentinel, Oct. 5, 1855. This address was signed by W. B. Napton, Governor Sterling Price, and others.

23. Pamphlet, p. 7 (Jefferson City, 1861).

24. MS. Tax Book, Jackson County, 1860; 3316 slaves, tax value, $1,452,591.

25. MS. Tax Book, Boone County, 1860; 4354 slaves, tax value, $1,721,000.

26. MS. Tax Book, Pike County, 1859; 3733 slaves, tax value, $1,623,085.

27. MS. Tax Book, Buchanan County, 1856; 1534 slaves, tax value, $691,825.

28. M. H. Nash, City Registrar, valued the 170 slaves of the town at $73,900 (St. Joseph Commercial Cycle, Sept. 7, 1855).

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$249.68.[29] This is at the least a third less than the average rate in the counties above mentioned in the years around 1860. In comparing these values the decreasing purchasing power of money should be taken into consideration.

A very bitter experience which the slave might at any time be forced to undergo was his removal to a strange region far from his family and old associations. This disruption of the negro family was entirely dependent upon the humanity of the individual owner. The sale of the slave south was practiced in Missouri as in the other border states. But the Missourians deny that it was ever practised save where financial reverses, an excess of hands, or a chronic spirit of viciousness or of absconding on the part of the slave necessitated it.[30]

Whether to mollify the new antislavery party which developed during the Compromise struggle, or through pure conviction, the constitution of 1820 provided that the Legislature might pass laws to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the State as "an article of commerce."[31] The provision was not taken seriously and the General Assembly never acted upon the suggestion.

The slave trader is generally pictured as the brutal, conscienceless, necessary evil, of the slavery system, detested even by those with whom he dealt. In Missouri he held no very enviable position. "Slave-traders and whiskey-sellers were equally hated by many," wrote one anti-slavery clergyman of

29. The History of Lafayette County (St. Louis, 1881), p. 306. The total valuation was $59,665, as copied by the author of the above work from the tax book.

30. "I never heard of any Missourian who consciously raised slaves for the southern market. I feel sure it was never done," said Lieutenant Governor R. A. Campbell of Bowling Green. Mr. Robert B. Price of Columbia denied that slaves were consciously bred for the southern market. Mr. J. W. Beatty of Mexico stated that there was a general feeling that the sale of negroes south was not right. Old residents and slaveholders in all parts of the state were corresponded with and all denied that in Missouri, at least, slave breeding was ever engaged in as the antislavery people so often charged. The better classes at any rate frowned upon the practise.

31. Art. III, sec. 26.

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St. Louis,[32] while another maintained that "large fortunes were made by the trade; and some of those who made them were held as fit associates for the best men on 'change'."[33] Dr. John Doy, the Kansas Abolitionist, who had a personal grievance against the Missouri slaveholder, claims that Gen. Dorris, whom he described as a brutal dealer, was highly respected and "belonged to the aristocracy of Platte county."[34]

Some of the slaveholders who were interviewed declared that the slave trader and the saloon keeper were tolerated as necessary evils, but that they were personally loathed and socially ostracized. Others, however, stated that it was a question of the individual trader, some being liked and some disliked.[35]

If the slave trader was a hard man and detested, he at least had the satisfaction of knowing that the wisest and gentlest of men would be hated by many if plying his trade. The very nature of the business made it contemptible. If the Missouri system was as patriarchal and the tie between the master and man as close as we are led to believe it was, the dealer who higgled and bargained even for the most unruly servant must have been disliked. This feeling would naturally be enhanced if financial reverses compelled the sale of familyslaves.[36]

32. Galusha Anderson, A Border City During the War, p. 171. (Boston, 1908).

33. William G. Eliot, The Story of Archer Alexander, p. 100 (Boston, 1885).

34. Narrative, p. 59.

35. Captain J. A. Wilson of Lexington declared that slave traders were considered worse than saloon keepers, many of them about Lafayette county being gamblers. Mr. R. B. Price of Columbia stated that they were considered a questionable class in Boone county. Messrs. J. H. Sallee and J. W. Beatty of Mexico said that like any other class of people some were respected and some were detested. James Aull of Lexington, a prominent merchant and slaveholder, wrote in 1835, "—a traffic in slaves we never could consent to embark in. No hope of gain could induce us to do it—we entirely and forever abandon the least share in the purchase of negroes for sale again." (MS. Aull to Siter, Price & Company of Philadelphia, June 15; Aull Papers, in the collection of E. U. Hopkins and John Chamberlain of Lexington, Mo.).

36. Many dealers were undoubtedly brutal men. An escaped Missouri slave later wrote that he was once hired to a dealer named Walker,

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In addition to the vicious, the runaway, and the slave of the financially depressed owner, there was a surplus from the natural increase. Consequently quite a local negro exchange existed. Besides this there was the itinerant buyer for the southern markets. The smaller towns seem to have been regularly visited, while the larger centers had permanent dealers. There were two such in Lexington in 1861, but they are said to have had difficulty in getting sufficiently large gangs to make the business pay.[37] There was at least one permanently located firm of dealers in St. Joseph in 1856.[38] John Doy claims many were shipped from St. Joseph while he was imprisoned there, to Bernard Lynch, Corbin Thompson, and other large St. Louis buyers.[39] Columbia and Marshall were regularly visited, and Platte City had quite a thriving trade.[40] John R.

who collected Missouri slaves for the Gulf markets. This Walker forced a beautiful mulatto slave into concubinage, and after years sold her and his four children by her into slavery before marrying a white woman (William B. Brown, Narrative, p. 47). Once while on a negro buying expedition Walker was annoyed at the continual wailing of an infant in the gang. He seized it from the mother and ran into a wayside house with the child hanging by one leg. Despite the shrieks of the mother he gave it to a woman who thankfully received it. The gang then marched on to St. Louis (ibid, p. 49). John Doy says that while a prisoner in Platte City he met many brutal dealers. He thus describes a slave gang: "At midnight Gen. Dorris, his son and assistants, came to the jail and ordered the slaves to get ready to leave. As it was quite cold a pair of sox were drawn over the fists and wrists of the men, in place of mittens, they were then handcuffed together in pairs and driven into the street, where they were formed into marching order behind the wagons containing the women and children—some of the former tied with ropes when considered unruly . . . " (Narrative, p. 64).

37. Captain J. A. Wilson has a map of Lexington executed by Jos. C. Jennings in 1861. It also contains a business directory in which are given two slave traders, A. Alexander at the City Hotel, and R. J. White at the Laurel Hotel. The latter, Captain Wilson remembers, had a three story building he used as a slave pen, but found it difficult to collect many negroes.

38. Wright and Carter who were "Located permanently at the Empire on Second Street" (St. Joseph Commercial Cycle, Aug. 15, 1856).

39. Narrative, p. 98.

40. Mr. R. B. Price remembers that dealers came regularly to Columbia. "Uncle" Henry Napper said that buyers came regularly to Mar-

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White of Howard county was a wealthy farmer of good repute who dealt in slaves. He lived on a farm of 1,053 acres and was taxed with 46 negroes in 1856.[41] The slave trader like the stock dealer undoubtedly plied his trade wherever he could obtain his commodity.

St. Louis became quite a market for shipping gangs down the Mississippi. One Reuben Bartlett openly advertised for negroes for the "Memphis and Louisiana Markets."[42] "St. Louis was fast becoming a slave market," wrote the Reverend W. G. Eliot, an antislavery clergyman, "and the supply was increasing with the demand. Often have I seen gangs of negroes handcuffed together, two and two, going through the open street like dumb cattle, on the way to the steamboat for the South. Large fortunes were made by the trade."[43] "I had to prepare the old slaves for the market," states William Brown, a slave who worked for a trader on a boat from St. Louis south on the Mississippi, "I was ordered to have the old men's whiskers shaved off, and the grey hairs plucked out where they were not too numerous, in which case he (the trader) had a preparation of blacking to color it, and with a blacking brush we put it on. . . . These slaves were then taught how old they were. . . . After going through the blacking process

shall and picked up unruly slaves and those of hard-up masters. John Doy wrote, "During our imprisonment [in Platte City in the fifties] numbers of slaves were lodged in the jail by different traders, who were making up gangs to take or send to the south. Every slave when brought in, was ordered to strip naked, and was minutely examined for marks, which with the condition of the teeth and other details, were carefully noted by the trader in his memorandum book. Many facts connected with these examinations were too disgusting to mention." (Narrative, p. 59.) J. G. Haskell states that, unless unruly, the slave had little danger of being sold to a distant market, "the oldest inhabitant remembers no such thing as a market auction block in western Missouri." "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," Kansas Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, p. 31.

41. MS. Tax Book, Howard County, 1856. Mr. George Carson of Fayette gave the above description of White's character.

42. Republican, Apr. 23, 1852.

43. The Life of Archer Alexander, p. 100.

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they looked fifteen years younger. . . ."[44] In one issue of the Republican three firms, perhaps to imply great prosperity or to outdo one another, advertised for five hundred, one thousand, and twenty-five hundred slaves respectively.[45] The St. Louis Directory of 1859 lists two "Slave Dealers" among the classified places of business. These were Bernard M. Lynch of 100 Locust St., and Corbin Thompson, 3 South Sixth street.[46] As a type of the great Missouri slave dealer we will take the former. Bernard M. Lynch, as we have seen, had his correspondents in western Missouri. His historic slave-pen was afterwards used as a military prison.[47] By means of the newspapers, he, like other dealers, advertised his business. Lynch posted a placard in his office, giving his rates, and the conditions under which he handled negroes. This broadside reads as follows:[48]

44. Narrative, p. 43. Brown claims that "Missouri, though a comparatively new State is (1847) very much engaged in raising slaves to supply the southern market," (ibid, p. 81). On the other hand the anti-slavery clergyman, Frederick Starr, said in 1863, "It is true that our papers are defiled by the advertisements of slave traders, but they are few. Our Courthouse witnesses the sale (of slaves) . . . and yet, this is emphatically a free city . . . most of the sales are for debt, or to close estates in accordance with the statute law . . . " (Letters to the People, No. 1, Slavery in Missouri, p. 8 (New York, 1853). He wrote under the pseudonym "Lynceus".

45. Issue of Jan. 7, 1854.

46. Published by L. and A. Carr, p. 131. In the Directory of 1859, published by R. V. Kennedy and Company, this same list appears by Lynch's address is given as 109 Locust St. (p. 615.). In a letter to S. P. Sublette of Jan. 19, 1853, Lynch gave his address as 104 Locust St. (MS. Sublette Papers).

47. An account of this building can be found in the Encyclopedia of Missouri History, vol. III, p. 1333. There was also a slave pen at Broadway and Clark Streets (J. L. Foy, "Slavery and Emancipation in Missouri," ibid, vol. IV, p. 2079). Another was located at Fifth and Myrtle streets (Galusha Anderson, A Border City During the War, p. 184). Lucy Delaney states that her mother was sold at an "auction room on Main street." (From the Darkness Cometh the Light, or Struggles for Freedom (St. Louis, 1892(?) p. 22). Father D. S. Phelan of St. Louis remembers seeing slaves sold at the block on the northeast corner of Fifth and Elm streets.

48. Photofacsimile copy in the Missouri Historical Society.

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"RULES

"No charge less than one dollar

"All negroes entrusted to my care for sale or otherwise must be at the Risk of the Owners,

"A charge of 37½ cents will be made per day for board of negroes 2½ per cent on all sales of slaves,

"My usual care will be taken to avoid escape, or accidents, but will not be made Responsible should they occur. I only promise to give the same protection to other negroes that I do to my own I bar all pretext to want of diligence.

"These must be the acknowledge terms of all Negroes found in my care, as they will not be received on any other.—As these rules will be placed in my Office, so That all can see that will see, the pretence of ignorance shall not be a plea.

"1st January, 1858

B. M. LYNCH
No. 100 Locust St."

Lynch could not have been the terror-inspiring genius that the slave dealer is usually pictured. On two different occasions slaves ran for refuge to his door.[49] He was evidently clever enough to empty his "pen" on tax assessment day. In 1852 Lynch was taxed with three slaves,[50] on the same number in 1857,[51] and on four in 1860.[52]

The slave dealer had his troubles and was perhaps a little prone to horse "swapping" methods. His commodity at times fell back upon his hands. "I received your letter yesterday," runs a note from John S. Bishop to S. P. Sublette in 1854, "in reference to the negro girl I sold you. I will be on my way south by the last of October . . . and will take the negro

49. On Dec. 16, 1852, Lynch wrote Solomon P. Sublette, "Your negro woman Sarah came to the gate for admittance. She is here and will be held subject to your order. Very respectively, B. M. Lynch." (MS. Sublette Papers). On Jan. 19, 1852, Lynch wrote Sublette, "Your negro woman with child rang about 4 o'clock this morning for admittance and will be retained subject to your order." (Ibid.)

50. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1852, Second District p. 117.

51. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1857, vol. II, p. 96.

52. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1860, Book L to O, p. 74.

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and pay you the money—or if you should see my brother J. B. Bishop he perhaps will pay you the money, and request him if he does to leave the girl at Mullhall's at the stock yards."[53] In February, 1855, Bishop wrote Sublette, "I received yours of February 8 and was rather surprised . . . times is hard and money scarce. I would of taken her as I was going south but do not want her now in hard times as negroes have fallen. I bought her above here and paid $600 for her as a Sound Negro and a very good one and will have my recourse where I bought her so you will know how to proceed according to law."[54]

In some respects the slave trade was unique. In the earlier period the negro was frequently used as a medium of exchange, being traded for land in the early days of the State.[55] Some dealers bought up horses and slaves.[56] Others handled negroes, real estate, and loans.[57] In some cases slaves were taken on trial.[58] Some dealers sold negroes on commission, boarding them till sold at the owner's risk and at his expense.[59]

53. MS., dated Mexico, Mo., Sept. 26, 1852 (Sublette Papers).

54. MS., dated February 14, 1855 (Ibid). A guarantee of soundness for a slave sale reads as follows: "Franklin County, Mo. March 1, 1856. Received of Mr. Solomon P. Sublette Eight Hundred and Fifty Dollars in full payment for a negro girl Eliza, aged 17 years, the above described negro girl, I warrant sound in body and mind a Slave for life & free from all claims. W. G. Nally." (Ibid.)

55. In the Farmers' and Mechanics' Advocate (St. Louis), of Nov. 21, 1833, is an example of this. Such advertisements are common.

56. Advertisement of George Buchanan in the Republican of March. 19, 1849.

57. "I. B. Burbbayge, General Agent, and proprietor of the old established Real Estate, Negro Slave, Money Agency and Intelligence Office, Third St., between Chestnut and Market Streets." (Daily Missourian (St. Louis), May 1, 1845).

58. We find this Advertisement in the Richmond Weekly Mirror of Oct. 20, 1854 "Negro woman for Sale—She can be taken on trial if preferred."

59. See the advertisements of Blakey and McAfee (Republican, Mar. 6 1849); B. M. Lynch (St. Louis Daily Union, Feb. 6, 1849); of R. Bartlett (Republican, Jan. 7, 1854), and of Wright and Carter in the St. Joseph Commercial Cycle of Aug. 15, 1856.

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Many sorrows were undoubtedly suffered by bereaved slave families, and much misery borne by negroes in the hands of traders. But the master at times endeavored to make his departing bondman confortable. In the Republican of January 7, 1854, we read, "For Sale—A good negro man, 32 years old, and not to be taken from the city." In the same issue a dealer offered to find homes for negroes within the city or State if requested. Either these provisions were to prevent a separation of slave families or to insure the master that his negro would not be sold south.

The official negro block of St. Louis was the eastern door of the Courthouse.[60] Some of these sales, especially when negresses were on the block may have been accompanied by obscene jibes and comment. The frequency of this is denied by contemporaries. "I have often," said a citizen of Lexington, "heard the auctioneer cry, 'a sound wench, sixteen years old, good to cook, iron, bake, and work. Warranted a slave for life.' Crowds would flock to the courthouse to see the sight. I never heard or saw any indecency on such an occasion."[61] William Brown stated it was common in St. Louis to hear a negress on the block thus described: "How much is offered for this woman? She is a good cook, good washer, and a good obedient servant. She has got religion."[62]

But at its best the slave traffic was perhaps the worst feature of the system. Unruly slaves were continually threatened with being "sold south" as a means of encouraging industry or of enforcing discipline. Families were separated and obedient slaves often sold into a life of misery "down the river", either because of callousness on the part of the owner or because financial straits demanded it.[63]

60. Most of the notices of official slave sales state that the bidding would take place at the east door of the courthouse. Slaves were also sold at the north door.

61. Captain J. A. Wilson.

62. Narrative, p. 83.

63. Lucy Delaney states that she was continually threatened with being sold south. Her father was sent south despite the will of his late master. Lucy herself escaped this fate by hiding with friends in St. Louis

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Many sad incidents occurred at the block. Children were at times wrung from their parents. Professor Peter H. Clark of St. Louis remembers a house on the southwest corner of Morgan and Garrison streets in which lived a woman who bought up infants from the mothers' arms at the slave markets of St. Louis and raised them for profit.

On the other hand a little good was inadvertently done by some dealers. The story of the finding of Wharton Blanton's slave pen near Wright City, Warren county, is most interesting. The mounds, some two score in number, were supposed to mark the resting place of some ill-fated Spanish expedition, or of an Indian tribe. After exhuming the bodies they were found to be those of negroes. Eventually it was learned that one Blanton had bought up diseased negroes about St. Louis and taken them to the above place for recuperation. Those dying on his hands were buried as above described.[64]

The incidental and often exceptional results of the system were juicy morsels for the gleaning of anti slavery agitators. The public too often generalized on these exceptions which were perhaps only too numerous.

HARRISON A. TRESLER.

University of Montana.

(Out of the Darkness Cometh the Light, p. 14, 22). Undoubtedly the sale of slaves was discouraged by the better classes. We read the following letter dated St. Joseph, Nov. 26, 1850: "I must Know tell you what I have done with Kitty. I found her two expensive and I sold here for one hundred and fifty dollars which money started me House Keeping it was through necessity I sold here." (MS. Wm. S. Hereford to S. P. Sublette, Sublette Papers.) The separation of families was also described. "I have a Negro Woman in St. Louis," runs a letter of Nov. 1, 1848, "she should remain (in St. Louis) if she prefers it—She may have a child or children, if so, dispose of the whole family to the same person . . . " (MS. Captain G. Morris to W. F. Darby, Darby Papers.)

64. This information was gained by Mr. T. C. Wilson of Columbia, Mo. Mr. Wilson was one of the excavators of this cemetery. His knowledge of the above traffic of Blanton was gained from old residents of the neighborhood. He also learned a great deal from Mr. Emil Pollien of Warrenton, Mo., the present possessor of this property. According to Mr. Pollien's papers the land came into the Blanton family's possession in 1829.

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THE OLD TOWN OF ELIZABETH.

WAS CALLAWAY'S FIRST COUNTY SEAT—LOCATED ON HAM'S PRAIRIE.

Elizabeth, the first county seat of Callaway county, was located at the northwest edge of Ham's Prairie, in section 9, township 46, range 9, on 100 acres of ground donated to the county by Judge Benjamin Young and Thomas Smith. The exact location of the site cannot be determined from the records now in existence, but the impression among old citizens is that it was just west of the Rupert or Ratekin place, and immediately south of the east-and-west lane on the Mokane road, a little more than a mile northwest of the village of Ham's Prairie.

The statute of the general assembly of November, 25, 1820, which created Callaway county, appointed Josiah Ramsey, Jr., Henry Brite, William McLaughlin, Samuel Miller and Enoch Fruit members of a commission to locate the permanent seat of government of the county, and on March 8, 1821, the commissioners reported to the county court that they had chosen Elizabeth.

The report was signed by Brite, McLaughlin and Miller. Fruit dissented, making a note on the report which said: "I do hereby enter my protest against the foregoing county seat, in consequence of its not being nearer the center of the county. Enoch Fruit." Ramsey did not sign the report, and on October 1 of the same year resigned from the board. James Nevins was named as his successor by Rufus Pettibone, of St. Charles, who was the first judge of the circuit court of Callaway county.

Fruit's objection to the location of the county seat evidently was shared by the people of the county, for in 1824 a majority of the citizens of the county petitioned the general assembly to re-locate the county seat. In consequence of that petition Fulton became the county seat.

Elizabeth was named for the wife of Henry Brite, one of the commissioners. He kept a tavern on Ham's Prairie, just

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east of Elizabeth, in the house now owned and occupied by C. F. Shiffler, and during the time that the county seat remained at Elizabeth his tavern was used as the meeting place of all the courts. The original house was built of logs and was one story high. Many changes have been made in it, among them being the erection of a second story. All trace of Brite and his family has been lost.

Elizabeth was platted, lots were sold, and at least a jail built. The jail was burned just about the time the county seat was moved to Fulton. The proceeds from the sale of lots was $705.50, and the whole sum was spent in the erection of the jail. The first sale of lots was at public auction on May 14, 1821, when 17 were sold for $345.50.

The purchasers of lots in the town of Elizabeth were the following: William Cowherd, Samuel Miller, Thomas Smith, Henry Brite, William McLaughlin, Bethel Allen, Joseph T. Sitton, Thomas G. Rankin, Wharton R. Moore, Benjamin Young, Samuel T. Moore, Lafayette Collins, William F. Dunnica, William Coats, James Goodridge, Robert Taylor, John Coats, James Humphreys, Patrick Ewing, John Pratt, William Martin, James Nevins, Johathan Crow, Simon Riggs, Robert Humphreys, Thomas Kitchens, Daniel McLaughlin, Joseph Aud, Fontaine Marr and John Hayes.

Several lots sold as low as $5, while William Cowherd, who got lot No. 4 in block No. 7 for $40, paid the highest price. Cowherd was a tanner, and later had a tanyard on the creek in Fulton. It is possible that he was a remote relative of William S. Cowherd, Democratic nominee for governor of Missouri in 1908.

Nothing is on record to show that any houses were built in Elizabeth. Most of the men who bought lots were owners of farm lands in the county, and it is not probable that they erected houses in Elizabeth when they had no use for them. Judge Young and Mr. Smith both lived near by, and they, with the Brite tavern folks, probably constituted the settlement at the county seat.

Judge Young was a man of large consequence in the county during his life time. Governor McNair appointed him a

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member of the first county court, and when the court met he was chosen as presiding justice. After serving on the court about a year, Judge Young resigned, and Samuel T. Moore, who lived on Ham's Prairie and was founder of one branch of the Moore family in Callaway county, was appointed to take his place. Judge Young was elected a member of the state senate in 1822 and continued in that office through the year 1832. Subsequently he represented the county in the general assembly in 1838 and 1840. He also was a member of the state constitutional convention of 1845. Judge Young died in 1851 and is buried in the old family graveyard on Ham's Prairie. He was quite wealthy, having more than 1,100 acres of land at the time of his death, and also a dozen negroes and a lot of personal property, including considerable money that was loaned out. His will, written by Judge Irvine O. Hockaday, father of the late Judge John A. Hockaday, is on file in the office of the probate court. He was married twice, and at the time of his death his second wife and four married daughters were living. The daughters were Mrs. Mary C. Layson, mother of Samuel Layson, of Fulton; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Guthrie, Mrs. Ann E. George and Mrs. Martha V. Moore. Mrs. Young afterward married Elder Theodrick Boulware, father of I. W. Boulware, Fulton's venerable lawyer, and was his third wife. The will tells that he had given his daughters 11 negroes. His son-in-law, William M. George, was the executor of his will. Young's creek is named for Judge Young.

Many of the men who bought lots in Elizabeth have descendants living in the county today. Samuel Miller lived near Miller's Creek Methodist church, and Miller's creek was named for him. His wife, Polly Miller, was a pioneer Methodist, and they were the parents of the Rev. Dr. Wesley Green Miller, the most eminent Methodist minister Callaway county has ever produced. Joseph T. Sitton afterward moved to Fulton and kept a tavern, which was used as a meeting place for the courts until the court house was erected. All of the Moores have descendants in the county. William Coats was a Primitive Baptist preacher and the man who in 1818 established Old Salem Baptist church on Coat's Prairie, the first Protestant

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church in the county. John Pratt was the father of James W. Pratt, of this city, and of John and Robert Pratt, of McCredie.

John Yates, father of Dr. Martin Yates, of this city, and the man who built the first house in the original town of Fulton, kept a store at Brite's tavern during Elizabeth days. The store was owned first by Collier & Company, of St. Charles, but soon after it was opened Mr. Yates bought an interest in it. He moved the store to Fulton in 1825 and was a merchant here many years. The store at Elizabeth was the second in the county, the first being at Cote Sans Dessein and owned by Daniel Colgan, Jr.

When the county seat was moved from Elizabeth to Fulton, the ground on which Elizabeth was located reverted back to the original owners. The purchasers of lots in Elizabeth were given permission by law to buy lots in Fulton to take the place of those owned in Elizabeth, and several availed themselves of the privilege. The commissioners who built the court house and jail in Fulton, however, had to pay out $688.50 for Elizabeth claims.

The last courts at Elizabeth were held in 1825. No one is living who remembers the place, but the records of the various courts of the county tell much concerning it. Many documents in connection with its official history are still on file in the office of the clerk of the county court, among them being the reports made by the commissioners to the county court, including one giving an account of the sale of lots.

OVID BELL.

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EARLY MISSOURI ROADS.

Many of our native wild animals had their regular trails. The rabbit knew his narrow path. The deer had his, and his route was known to the hunters. When the hunter put his hounds on the trail of a deer, other persons would take positions behind trees along the known trail, and would shoot the deer as he passed. The buffalo had a well marked trail worn by the tramping of hundreds. In Ralls county I have seen an old buffalo trail 50 feet wide and 5 feet deep. This I traced for several hundred yards. I have noticed a similar trail in Newton county, Missouri. At several places in Mitchell county, Texas, I have seen well marked buffalo trails.

Our early settlers selected good land convenient to streams, but they needed neighbors. As they were often some distance apart, paths had to be made or roads cleared out. On the plains west a pile of rocks would be formed on a hilltop. Further along the route other piles would be formed. These were guides for the traveler.

Hence, our early legislatures occupied much time in passing acts authorizing certain roads. As this took up much time the matter was finally left to the counties.

Well-marked roads generally connected the nearby county seats. Campbell's maps of Missouri counties show many roads.

Before railroads were built there were well-marked and well-worn roads leading across the State. The Boonslick was probably the best traveled of our early roads. It started at St. Charles and followed the ridge most of the way to Howard county. It passed Cottleville, Pittmans, Naylor's store, Pondfort, Pauldingville (where Kemer kept), Hickory Grove, Warrenton, Camp Branch, Jones, Danville, Williamsburgh, seven miles north of Fulton, and as far north of Columbia, thence through Thralls Prairie, to Franklin and to Boonslick. This was the main route prior to 1822. Missouri becoming a State, Fulton and Columbia became county seats. This affected the travel. So, from Williamsburgh the road was opened by way

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of Fulton, Millersburgh, and Columbia, thence to Rocheport and Franklin. Trade at this time was much directed to Santa Fe, and the road continued westwardly from the old town of Franklin by Arrow Rock, Marshall, Malta Bend, Grand Pass, Fort Osage, to Independence. The Salt River road passed out from St. Charles to St. Peters, thence along the Mississippi bluffs to Burkles', thence by Wellsburgh, Flint Hill to Troy thence by Alexandria, Auburn, Prairieville (now Eolia), Bowling Green, New London, to Palmyra. In St. Charles county there were tributaries of this road, one known as the Middle Salt River, passing from St. Peters by Gilmores, Thos. Pierce's to Flint Hill.

From St. Louis the Manchester Road passed out northwest by Manchester, Gray's Gap, Moseley's and further across the State was known as the Springfield Road. It passed right by Wishong's and Weber's (now Rolla), thence by Lebanon, Marshfield, Springfield, Mt. Vernon, to Neosho and beyond.

From Gray's Gap on the Manchester Road, a main traveled road passed west by Union, Mt. Sterling, Lisle and Osage, to Jefferson City. From Jefferson City a road passed south by Hickory Hill and Tuscumbia to Lebanon. A well traveled stage route from Jefferson City, by Russellville, Versailles, Cole Camp, Warsaw, and Bolivar to Springfield. From Jefferson City west by Centertown, Tipton, Georgetown, Knobnoster, Warrensburg, Centre Knob, Pleasant Hill, to Independence.

All the principal roads leading out from St. Louis had names which they still keep. The Bellefontaine passed northwardly. The Natural Bridge Road and the St. Charles Rock Road both reached a point on the Missouri river opposite St. Charles. The Olive Street Road, the Manchester Road extended to Manchester and beyond, the Clayton Road passing west, the Gravois Road southwest.

In Boone there were well marked roads in different directions; from Columbia to Rocheport, Columbia to Sturgeon, the Paris Road, the Mexico Road, Providence Road, to Ashland and Jefferson City.

An important road was one from Louisiana to Bowling Green, Ashley, Middletown and Danville. Well-marked roads

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from Louisiana to Frankfort, Clarksville to Paynesville, Clarksville to Prairieville.

I have been over the most of the above roads, and speak from personal knowledge.

Plank roads were considered before the railroads and were built in St. Genevieve, St. Louis, Pike and Boone. They very soon were abandoned because they wore out too soon. They were not renewed and the people began to think of railroads. In 1836 railroads were first talked of. In 1836 the Legislature incorporated eighteen railroad companies, but few of which ever built roads. In 1848 the Legislature granted charters to three railroads companies. In 1852 the first few miles of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri were built. After that, railroad building progressed in Missouri.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

December, 1912.

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ECHOES OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

William Clark was Governor of Missouri Territory after its organization as a territory, from 1813, until its organization as a state in 1820. He was ex-officio superintendent of Indian Affairs during this time, and Richard Graham was Indian agent of the Osage nation. Clark continued to act as superintendent of Indian affairs until June 30, 1821, to which time he was allowed to settle his accounts, and after which, his superintendency ceased.

There were several persons who acted as interpreters, and at St. Louis there were the following official interpreters: L. T. Honore (of several languages); Paul Loise, Osage and other Indians in Missouri; P. Fournier, Osages in Missouri. In Richard Graham's Agency at St. Louis there was Philip Cramer, blacksmith, and one assistant. Also there was one blacksmith and gunsmith for the Osages, in Missouri at $550 per annum, and one for the Delawares at $550 per annum, and one for the Osages at $200 per annum.

John Kennerly was transportation agent at St. Louis receiving $400 per annum. At Fort Clark, George C. Sibley was factor, L. W. Boggs, assistant factor, and Joseph Renoe was interpreter. Paul Ballio was factor at Osage branch factory.

Preparatory to removing several of the Indian tribes from the lands purchased from them by treaty in the Ohio valley, sites were selected for them in the then far west. Dr. McCoy was the surveyor selected to mark out the limits of some of their reservations. Dr. McCoy ran the western line of Arkansas from the southwestern corner of the state of Missouri to Fort Smith, as the following letter shows, which was written by Isaac McCoy, a brother of Dr. McCoy, who was also a surveyor engaged in the surveys of the public lands.

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Aug. 18th, 1831.
Station Camp, Neosho River.

Sir:

I have just completed a tour of 33 days. I first accompanied the surveyors to the southwest corner of the state of Missouri, whence Mr. Donaldson proceeded on, and has completed a traverse line from that place to Fort Smith (about 77 miles) between the Cherokee and territory of Arkansas. It remains for that line to be corrected and marked back to the corner of Missouri.

Dr. McCoy proceeded northerly from the corner of Missouri, marked the line between the Cherokees and that state, and establish the northeast corner of the Cherokee lands as I shall describe below; and thence proceeded on the line of Missouri 22 miles further, marking distinctly every five miles, in order to facilitate subsequent surveys on the Indian side.

Mr. Donaldson's instructions embraced the completion of his line. Dr. McCoy was directed to note the crossing of the first water of the Neosho, north of the corner of Missouri (which is a small creek and only about a mile and a half north of the corner of Missouri) and to proceed until he had crossed all the waters on that line which run into Neosho; to note this northern termination of his line, and then measure west until he reached the Osage reservation marking every five miles.

(Signed) ISAAC McCOY, Surveyor.

(See Emigrant Indians) Vol. 2—Page 561.

* * * * *

St. Louis, Dec. 13th, 1831.

Henry C. Brish, Sub Indian agent, in removing the Seneca Indians from Ohio to their lands west of Missouri arrived with them in St. Charles at this time, and found a considerable number of them were too sick to be taken farther, and one woman died. Fourteen were left. With the remainder he continued to Troy. There two others died, and nearly the whole number became sick. A number of children had their feet and hands frozen. An encampment was pitched on the Quiver Creek until better weather obtained.

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"Messrs. David and Samuel Bailey, contractors to remove the Seneca Indians to their lands, were both taken ill soon after they reached Troy. Myself and the friends who accompanied me have all been sick, and have suffered much from the cold. The services of either Col. Bailey or his brother, would have been absolutely necessary to me in the trip.

"I have made an arrangement with Col. Bailey to furnish the necessary provisions to my Indians during their stay at their present encampment, and have also contracted with him to supply them for the first six months after they arrrive upon their lands, on terms which I consider reasonable. I beg leave, respectfully, to submit those reasons for the course pursued in this matter, to your consideration.

"Your Obedient Servant,
(Signed) Henry C. Brish.
Sub Indian Agent."

"Gen. Wm. Clark,
"Superintendent Indian Affairs St. Louis.

In a letter from Wm. Clark, the Secretary of War, dated St. Louis, Dec. 20, 1831, he explains that Mr. Brish contracted with Bailey, "to supply the Senecas, encamped near Troy, with provisions, at ten cents per ration, and to procure, (while provisions can be obtained), a supply for six months to be delivered on their lands at sixteen cents per ration. This is, I believe, as reasonable as provisions can be procured and transported." There were 232 Senecas.

When the Shawnees crossed the state of Missouri they were under Lieutenant Col. J. J. Abert, special commissioner of Emigration. They crossed the Mississippi into Missouri at Alton on Nov. 1, and 2, 1832. They had followed the same route as the Senecas as far as Vandalia and here Clark's advice was for them to avoid St. Louis. They were going to their lands on the Kansas river and hence this northern route. A small detachment of Ottawas were with them as part of the emigration. This band was connected by intermarriages with the Shawnees, and looked up to them as elder brothers. The cholera attacked the Ottawas, but with no serious results. On the 16th of No-

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vember they arrived at the Missouri, at Arrow Rock, and here a storm delayed them, and they were five days in crossing the Missouri. Here, at Arrow Rock, they received twenty-three new rifles, which had been provided for in treaty with the Shawnees.[1] The Shawnee village, twenty miles west of Independence, Mo., was reached during the afternoon of November 30th. The Shawnees in this band numbered about 450, and the Ottawas about 100.

In a letter from James B. Gardiner to Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, bearing date of Feb. 25, 1833, he says:[2] "For the sake of convenience, as well as to avoid collisions and quarrels on the way, each tribe or band was marched separately, and as nearly as circumstances would permit, from ten to twenty miles apart. While passing through the populous setttlements, it was found impossible to prevent the Indians from obtaining ardent spirits in such quantities as produced some serious disturbances and numerous detentions.

"The most of these travelled on horseback. A few had carriages and wagons of their own. The sick, the aged, and the decrepit, who were unable to ride on horses, were carried in the public baggage wagons in a comfortable manner."

Gardiner, under date Dec. 1, 1832, writes Lewis Cass, that he has just received a letter from Col. Abert, dated at Franklin, Mo., which "gives him the gratifying intelligence that the cholera had entirely subsided among the Ohio Emigrating Indians. No new cases had occurred for the, then, last six days, and those slightly attacked were all convalescent. The Indians had crossed the Missouri at Arrow Rock ferry, and were pushing on to their destination with all possible speed." Delaware Indians from Little Sandusky, Ohio, were also removed but were only about thirty in number.

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

[1]. See Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 483, Art., 12.

[2]. Emigrant Indians, Vol. III, p. 111.

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JOURNAL ACROSS MISSOURI, OF BAND OF OHIO INDIANS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

The following is an excerpt from a "Journal of occurrences kept by the conducting officer of the Seneca and Shawnee emigrating Ohio Indians to their lands west of Missouri." These Indians lived in the vicinity of Lewistown, Logan county, Ohio, and numbered 220 persons. They assembled at Lewistown on August 20, 1832 as they had been previously notified to do, and were prepared for the trip by first being vaccinated. They were also requested to choose their own method of transportation, whether by horseback, wagon or by steamboat, these being the only means of transportation then in use in this part of the country. They were to be removed to the Neosho River in the Indian Territory. They chose to travel by horseback, many of the squaws refusing to travel either by wagon or steamboat. After some delays as to making a start they finally got under way, September 19th, and the progress of the party is given day by day until its arrival at the Mississippi, after which date I will quote the Journal word for word. Upon reaching Vandalia, Ill., news was brought them that the cholera was prevalent in St. Louis, and the conductor sent a messenger to report to Governor Clark, and ask as to the truth of the information, and to get his advice as to the best route to take to reach the Indian Territory, as it had evidently been the plan to have gone via St. Louis. Clark advised crossing the river at Kaskaskia, which was on the Illinois side opposite St. Genevieve county, Missouri. They arrived at Kaskaskia on the evening of Thursday, November 6th, but the wind being strong, they did not cross. From this date the Journal was as follows:

"Wednesday, 7th (Nov.) Today about two-thirds of them were taken over, which occupied their time until dark.

"Thursday, 8th—The remaining part of the Indians were taken over to day.

"Friday, 9th—The Indians remained in camp for the purpose of getting their horses shod.

"Saturday, 10th—The Indians had considerable difficulty in finding their horses. We started late, and only travelled eight miles.

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"Sunday 11th—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Monday 12th—We travelled seventeen miles.

"Tuesday 13th—We travelled four miles, one mile west of mine of Burton where we camped for the purpose of having the remainder of the horses shod.

"Wednesday 14th—We remained today for the purpose of getting horses shod, and giving the squaws an opportunity of washing their clothes and blankets.

"Thursday 15th—It was late this morning before the Indians could collect all their horses; we travelled only eight miles.

"Friday, 16th—We travelled sixteen miles to the Merimack River.

"Saturday, 17th—A family was left behind a day or two ago, which the Indians say they intend waiting for at this place.

"Sunday, 18th—Rained all day so much that the Indians would not start.

"Monday, 19th—It was so cold that the Indians refused to travel. It snowed and blowed terribly.

"Tuesday, 20th—A child died this morning (the only death which has occurred in this tribe), which detained us until late. Some horses strayed away, which added to the delay. We travelled seven miles.

"Wednesday, 21st—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Thursday, 22d—It rained and snowed so much that the Indians could not travel.

"Friday, 23d—We marched fifteen miles.

"Saturday, 24th—We struck our tents at 8 o'clock, and marched until about 5. We made the distance of sixteen miles. The horses of two of the teamsters ran away, and their wagons were consequently left behind.

"Sunday, 25th—A part of the detachment travelled ten miles, and the remainder continued stationary. The wagons which were left behind yesterday arrived in the evening.

"Monday, 26th—The Indians who remained behind yesterday, waiting for the teams, joined those in front.

"Thursday, 27th—We marched ten miles.

"Wednesday, 28th—We struck our tents at 8 o'clock and continued travelling until late in the evening, by which means we made the distance of eighteen miles.

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"Thursday, 29th—We travelled thirteen miles to the Gasconade.

"Friday, 30th—The Indians remained today for the purpose of waiting for some of their brethern, who are behind.

"Saturday, December 1st, 1832. Commenced raining in the night and continued all day so that the detachment could not travel.

"Sunday, 2d—We were compelled to cross the streams several times to day, which nearly swam the horses, so that we were detained along the road so much that we travelled but eight miles.

"Monday, 3d—We travelled fourteen miles. One keg of powder and one hundred pounds of lead were given to the Indians to day, by First Lieutenant Lane, upon condition that they should pay for it in game, which should be divided among all as other supplies of provision.

"Thursday, 4th—We travelled twenty miles to day. We started early and had a good road, and travelled late.

"Wednesday, 5th—We travelled thirteen miles today, which brought us to White River.

"Thursday, 6th—We remained at the encampment for the purpose of refreshing the detachment.

"Friday, 7th—About 10 o'clock we left the encampment and crossed White River, and marched nine miles beyond it, making ten miles today.

"Saturday, 8th—We travelled twelve miles to Gibson's fork of the Neosho.

"Sunday, 9th—We travelled fifteen miles..

"Monday, 10th—We travelled seven miles today. We could have gone farther, but it was necessary to halt to get corn and meat.

"Tuesday, 11th—We travelled thirteen miles.

"Wednesday, 12th—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Thursday, 13th—We travelled twelve miles to the Seneca Agency. Here the Indians were delivered to Major Kennerly, the agent for the Senecas.

(Signed) Daniel M. Workman, conductor of Lewistown Emigrating Indians.

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

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FAMOUS GOOSE CASE.

First Missouri Justice of the Peace to Deliver Written Opinion —Forty Years Ago.

As far as known the first justice of the peace in Missouri to deliver a written opinion was Thomas B. Gentry, of Columbia, the father of Ex-Assistant Attorney-General N. T. Gentry. Not far from the historic Bonne Femme Baptist Church, and near the banks of a little stream, now called "Goose Creek," two women had a difficulty, which resulted in the name for the creek, a bruised head for one woman, and a criminal prosecution in the magistrate's court for the other woman. The time consumed in the trial of this little case was five days; three days in the taking of testimony, one day in argument and the justice took one day to consider the case. Six of Boone county's leading attorneys, Odon Guitar, Squire Turner, A. J. Harbinson, J. D. W. Robinson, F. F. C. Triplet and H. C. Pierce, took part in this noted trial; and a host of witnesses and many spectators thronged the old courthouse. The written opinion of Justice Gentry is as follows, and the same was read by him to the eager crowd in the court room:

"State of Missouri vs. Rachael Scott. The defendant is charged with feloniously assaulting, with a dangerous weapon, and maiming, wounding, disfiguering, causing great bodily harm and endangering the life of Sarah P. Gans, under such circumstances as would have constituted murder or man-slaughter, if death had ensued. The defendant entered a plea of not guilty; —she admits the striking but claims that it was done in the defense of her own property, to-wit two geese.

"From the evidence in this case, it appears that for some time previous to the 28th of February 1872, Mrs Rachel Scott, the defendant, and Mrs Sarah P. Gans had been living on neighboring farms South of Columbia; and that for a long time they had not been on friendly terms. On that day, Mrs Gans entered upon the premises and within the enclosure of the defendant, without permission or invitation, and began driving

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four of her own and one or two of Mrs Scott's geese. The testimony also shows that the defendant warned Mrs Gans to let the geese alone, stating to her in a loud tone of voice that two of those geese belonged to her (defendant), but that Mrs. Gans continued to drive all of the geese toward the front gate, which she had previously proped open. She was in the act of driving them through said gate and onto the Columbia & Ashland gravel road, when the defendant struck her.

"I regard the entry of Mrs Gans upon the defendant's premises, under the circumstances, as a trespass; and the attempt to drive off defendant's geese, or goose, as the case may be, without permission as a still further trespass. Mrs Gans was clearly in the wrong place, where she had no right to be, and engaged in the commission of an unlawful act and must be considered a trespasser. Under these circumstances, she was assaulted by defendant with a pine stick twenty-two and one-half inches in length, one inch and a quarter in thickness and two inches wide, which stick was picked up by the defendant after she started out from her house to where Mrs Gans was driving the geese. The wounds produced by this stick upon the person of Mrs Gans were not shown to be dangerous wounds, or disfiguring wounds, and it was not shown that her life was endangered thereby. The assault made by defendant, under such circumstances, viewed in the light of human law, I regard as justifiable. The battery, however, which was proved to be considerable, and was not resisted, was perhaps excessive, and went beyond what was necessary for the defendant to make in order to keep possession of her personal property. Yet considering the results and effects of this battery, as they appear in the testimony, I cannot regard them as sufficiently great to constitute a violation of Section 33 of Chapter 42 of Criminal Code of Missouri. In other words, if the defendant had intended to kill Mrs Gans, I do not believe she would have selected this little pine stick. The offense then, in my opinion, is reduced to a simple assault and battery; which until properly charged and sworn to, I shall not feel called upon to have investigated. I therefore discharge the defendant from custody.

T. B. GENTRY, J. P."

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Soldiers of War of 1812.

In 1857 a petition was signed by the soldiers of the war of 1812, living in Boone county, for a pension to be granted to the serving soldiers of that war. Below are the names of those who signed it, the state where born and the age at the time of signing the petition. It does not state the regiment in which the service was performed:

John Barclay, Kentucky, 66 years.
John Barnes, Kentucky, 64 years, 8 months.
Henry Berry, Kentucky, 60 years.
Benjamin Brookshire, North Carolina, 61 years.
John Caruthers, Virginia, 64 years.
Allen Coats, North Carolina, 87 years.
Abraham Davenport, Virginia, 77 years.
John Davenport, Virginia, 64 years.
Berkley Estes, Virginia, 60 years.
James Green, Kentucky, 71 years.
John Green, Kentucky, 67 years.
Thompson Hardin, Virginia, 72 years.
Fleetwood Herndon, Virginia, 67 years, 2 months.
Greenbury Jacobs, Virginia, 73 years.
James King, Kentucky, 62 years.
Cyrus Lusk, Kentucky, 61 years, 3 months.
Hugh Melvin, Kentucky, 73 years.
Gabriel Parker, Maryland, 66 years.
Hiram Phillips, Virginia, 66 years, 6 months.
Daniel G. Searcy, Kentucky, 63 years.
Williams Simmes, Kentucky, 67 years.
Norborne B. Spottswood, Virginia, 67 years, 2 months.
Elijah Stephens, North Carolina, 75 years.
James Thomas, Virginia, 65 years, 5 months.
David Todd, Kentucky, 71 years, 6 months.
Samuel B. Todd, Kentucky, 64 years, 6 months.
Cornelius Vanansdal, Virginia, 65 years.
James Willer, Virginia, 67 years.
Isaac Williams, Pennsylvania, 66 years, 7 months.

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Manuscripts Saved.

The Third Biennial Report of the Society gave an account of the donation of a very valuable collection of manuscript made by the grandchildren of Gen. Thomas A. Smith, of Saline county. Since the donation was made to the Society the residence of Dr. George P. Smith in Saline county, where the collection was given to the Society was burned with the loss of his entire library. The General's heirs decided wisely when they gave the collection to a place of safety and permanent preservation.

St. Louis Nights Wi' Burns.

"Burns and Religion," by Rev. W. C. Bitting; "Burns, The World Poet," by William Marion Reedy; "Burns and English Poetry," by Professor J. L. Lowes; "Burns and the Prophet Isaiah," by Judge M. N. Sale; "Burns and the 'Auld Clay Biggin,' " by Frederick W. Lehmann; "The Club, the Room, the Burnsiana, the Nights," by Walter B. Stevens. Printed for private distribution to lovers of Burns by the Burns Club of St. Louis, 1913.

The Burns Club of St. Louis headed by W. K. Bixby, who has made himself and St. Louis known among lovers of books, and especially of privately printed books, has issued this fine little work, with excellent papers on various phases of Burns and of his works. This club has a membership of twenty-one members who have given a fine memento of their love of Burns, and the Society is under obligations to the Club for a copy.

$50.00 REWARD.

Ran away this morning, my negro man David. He is a black man, about six feet two or three inches high, stout made fond of whiskey, getting drunk whenever he can procure it. Had on when he went off, a good hat, blue cloth coat, velvet collar, brown broad cloth pantaloons, vest, etc., not recollected. He is pretty well known about this place, and there is little doubt but he will be found lurking about H. Gratiot's or Papin's old

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place. The above reward will be given to any person who will lodge him in the St. Louis gaol, or delever him to me well pinioned and secured.

The cause of my man's running off, was a knowledge of my intention to move down to the Chickasaw purchase; together with an apprehension of being chastised for disobeying and giving me insolent and abusive language, in Col. Benton's yard, as he went off. I have owned said fellow for several years, and never molested him; nor should I have had a pretence for undertaking it when he ran off, if he had not been spirited up. He has been instigated to give me abusive language, and to leave me, by two or three persons within and about this place. I presume that the said fellow is either in this place at this time, or in its vicinity; and that he may be found in St. Louis or Papin's old house, half a dozen miles from this place, as soon as my departure is announced. I hereby forewarn all persons from employing, harboring, or affording him any protection, aid, or the like, under the penalty of the law. I will empower a man in this case, who understands and has the spirit to assert his rights. I have been told that I had a list doomed to death; this I say is not true; and that I do not owe but one or two fellows that much harm; and even them I shall not turn out of my course to find, for the poor devils will die of fear. At any rate my man David is not among the proscribed.

One hundred dollars in silver will be given to any person who will deliver him to me or my agent, at the Chickasaw Bluffs.

NATH BENTON.

N. B. No person within the Missouri territory has any authority from me, neither to sell, hire, employ or control the said negro David; and any one offending in these particulars, besides other inconveniences, will be posted for a rascal.

N. G.

—Missouri Gazette and Public Advertisers, March 29, 1820.

WISCONSIN'S LOSS.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, beyond question the most widely known secretary of any Historical Society in the United States,

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the editor of the "Jesuit Relations," in more than sixty volumes, the "Early Western Travels," in thirty-two volumes, and "Lewis and Clark Travels," in fifteen volumes, died suddenly since our last issue. Dr. Frederick Jackson Turner, of Harvard University, delivered a memorial address in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol at Madison, Wisconsin, December 19, 1913.

BOOK NOTICES.

OLD TAVERN. Arrow Rock, Missouri. Established on Santa Fe Trail, 1830. Compiled by J. P. BIGGS, Arrow Rock, 1913.

From the portraits of the tavern given in the booklet, the present name from the sign at the door, seems to be "Old Tavern." What it originally was called is not stated, but probably it was without name, or was known as "Arrow Rock Tavern." In its continuous use, from 1830 to the present, it has had many of the prominent men of early days as guests, and in 1912 the local Women's National Old Trails Road Association fitted up a rest room in the hotel for the comfort and entertainment of the present day travelers. This room has a portrait of George C. Bingham, and lithographs of ten of Bingham's paintings. The State Historical Society ought to be able to say this about its collection, but unfortunately it cannot do it. The room has also many historic relics, which are of interest to all now passing over the old Santa Fe Trail.

The booklet gives an interesting history of the town of Arrow Rock, where Capt. Geo. Sibley built a substantial log house in 1807; the first plat of the town, then called Philadelphia was filed in 1829. Credit for the compilation and publication of the booklet is due to Mr. Biggs, cashier of the Arrow Rock Stock Bank, and it is to be hoped that many others will publish similar local memorials.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF NOAH WEBSTER, compiled by EMILY ELLSWORTH FOWLER FORD. Edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, two volumes. New York, Privately printed, 1912.

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The society is endebted for the above privately printed work to the editor, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr. The principal part of the work was prepared by her mother twenty years before, and was enlarged from its original scope by the publication of the life of Webster by Horace E. Scudder in the American Men of Letters Series, which seemed to the compiler, Webster's daughter, to be very unjust and incorrect. In philology Webster began his studies in 1783, and the oldest claim of comparative philology in Europe dates from the formation of the Oriental Society in 1784, so he was the pioneer in Europe as well as in America.

Dr. Johnson wrought seven years with six amanuenses, and with a certainty of a final recompense as five firms of booksellers agreed to take the huge scheme in hand and give Johnson £1575 for his share of the work. But Webster wrought single handed for forty-three years at the study of language, and for twenty-eight years at the making of the Dictionary, never condescending to an amanuensis until he was eighty years of age, with but few means of support outside of his own personal earnings, and but small promise of help from any source.

His was a wonderful achievement, and one that Americans ought to know and honor.

THE INJUSTICE OF HISTORY. A neglected patriot. By Companion Captain WILLIAM R. HODGES.

This paper on Thomas Paine was read before the Commandery of Missouri of the Military Order of the Loyal Region, October 4, 1913, and printed by order of the Commandery, of which the author is the secretary.

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR. Lectures on the foundations of any mental or social science, by MAX MEYER, Professor of Experimental Psychology in the University of Missouri, Boston, Richard G. Badger, (C. 1911.)

This work is intended to describe the complete dependence of all human activity on the functional properties of the nervous system, on the changes which these functional properties undergo during life, and particularly the way in which these changes come about.

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What the book proposes to do is essentially an investigation into the problem contained in the inquiry, What are the simplest assumptions, necessary and sufficient, to explain hypothetically the facts of human behavior as dependent on the function of the nervous system? Having answered this question, it attempts to illuminate the deep-rooted habit of describing human behavior as dependent on subjective states, on states of consciousness, a habit which still largely governs the sciences of human society, preventing them from throwing off the shackles of subjectivity.

The work has been adopted by Columbia University and the University of Missouri.

A SYSTEM OF PHONETICS applied to the English language for the use of singers and speakers by HOMER MOORE,
St. Louis, (C. 1913.)

The author is a teacher of speaking and of music, and quotes a sentence from Shakespeare, that should be quoted frequently to all public speakers and singers: "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you—trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of our players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines."

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NANTUCKET HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION at its nineteenth annual meeting held during the past year, shows the fact that the local historical societies of the east are better supported and create more general interest than do those in the west. This Society has a present membership of 338, the total number from the start being 609. Among the manuscripts acquired during the year was a deed of manumission of Hiram Reed, a slave in St. Louis, and afterwards a resident of Nantucket. He was freed by Gen. Fremont, and the deed was signed by Fremont, September 12, 1861.

The proceedings give an account of a meeting of the Bay State Historical League of the Historical Societies of the State of Massachusetts. At the meeting there were sixty delegates from twenty historical societies of the State. The Association preserves old account books, diaries, inventories, copies of family bible records, cemetery records and other things that might have a bearing on historical or genealogical subjects.

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An account is given of a visit to a little burial ground whose broken head stones were piled around the walls, but by the aid of a man to handle the stones every inscription was copied by the enterprising young lady who was looking up data.

A notice of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Boston, mentions a meeting in the hall of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a hall that was not large, but the voices of the speakers were so low and indistinct that it was difficult to understand them. The editor is sorry to say that he notices that fault at every meeting of the Association.

THE KEEPER OF THE VINEYARD. A tale of the Ozarks, by CAROLINE ABBOT STANLEY, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, (C. 1813.)

This story of a "return to nature" lies in the Missouri Ozarks, and the events are told so naturally and true to life that the reader feels a companionship with the characters, and an interest in all the efforts of the heroine of the story in her struggle to overcome obstacles unexpectedly encountered.

Eleanor Dinwoody, a successful teacher, is suddenly confronted with the problem not only of the maintenance of her brother's family of five, but of the proper care of a girl budding into young womanhood and of a boy hardly beyond the years of infancy. The story of how she got them to Missouri and how she maintained them there, and at the same time was an almost unconscious leader in the uplift of the entire neighborhood holds the unfailing interest of the readers who are open to the appeal to men and women of like sympathy and aims and passions.

The Society is under obligations to the authoress and publisher for this addition to the Society Collection of Missouri authors, and to Mrs. Stanley for a set of her other works.

THE HUGH STEPHENS IMPRINT, Published by the Hugh Stephens Printing Co., Jefferson City, Mo.

This booklet was issued as a reminder of the good printing and illustrating work by this well known Company. It has a printing plant of a capacity of more than a half million pages of book presswork daily. Its output of commercial work and of bound books is very great; its facilities are of the best with an expanse of 24,000 square feet, and 125 workmen.

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A SHEAF OF MEMORIES. Address by R. F. WALKER at a meeting of the Old Settlers Association of Morgan County, Missouri.

If all of the old settlers associations of the state would have some competent person deliver interesting addresses like the above they would perform a great benefit in preserving local history.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY and popular account of the unparalleled discoveries of T. J. J. SEE. BY W. L. WEBB, Lynn, Mass., 1913.

The author shows that Prof. See has done what no one before him ever did—laid the foundations for two great physical sciences; Cosmogony, dealing with the creation of the Heavens; and Geogony, which treats of the creation of the earth. The accomplishment of this by Prof. See, while yet a young man, has placed him at the head of living natural philosophers.

Prof. See was born in Montgomery County, Missouri, February, 19, 1866, and took his first University degree in 1889. Since that time degrees and positions of honor and of learning have been held by him, and since 1903 he has been pursuing his investigations while in charge of the Naval Observatory at Mare Island, California.

The octavo work of about 300 pages, with many illustrations gives a popular account of the work that has been accomplished by Professor See, and it will furnish pleasure and information to the reader.

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NECROLOGY.

MAJOR WILLIAM HENRY CURRENT died in St. Louis, August 24, 1913, and was buried by Ransom Post in the National Cemetery at Jefferson Barracks. During the civil war he was Major of the 134th Indiana Infantry, and later came to Pettis county, Missouri. He studied law with Sampson & Bro., at Sedalia and after his admission to the bar he was engaged on several newspapers, and was married there. He moved to St. Louis and for some time was connected with the office of the Metropolitan Insurance Company, and in his later years was a writer for insurance periodicals.

HON. ADOLPH E. METHUDY, member of the Senate in the Forty-fourth, Forth-fifth and Forty-sixth General Assemblies of Missouri, died at Highland, North Carolina, December 16, 1913. He was born in St. Louis in 1876, and was a graduate from Smith Academy, Manual Training School, Washington University and St. Louis Law School. On account of failing health he was compelled to withdraw from the Senate.

JUDGE LUTHER C. SLAVENS was born in Indiana seventy-seven years ago, and a graduate of De Pauw University. Soon after the civil war he came to Kansas City, and in the Republican Presidential Convention of 1880 he was one of the 306 who remained staunch for a third term for General Grant.

He served a term as circuit judge, and was city Counselor of Kansas City at the time when the city succeeded in becoming the owner of the waterworks. Judge Slavens suddenly died while sitting in a chair in a hotel in Kansas City, October 23, 1913.

HON. WESLEY A. VIA aged 71 years, a member of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly in 1882, died December 17, 1913 at Rolla of which place he was one of the oldest residents. He served in the Confederate army under Col. Early A. Steen.

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MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

THIRTEENTH PAPER.

The following is a partial list from the cemetery in Columbia, and is, with some exceptions, of persons who died before 1876, or of persons who died since who were more than 75 years old:

Stephen Bedford, born April 20, 1823; died Oct. 20, 1875.
Caroline L. Bedford, born Aug. 22, 1828; died April 24, 1897.
William, son of Robert S. and Mary M. Barr, born Nov. 11, 1838; died Dec. 3, 1858.
James T. Barr, died Nov. —, 1830, aged six years and seven months.
Daniel D. Barr, died Sept. —, 1831, aged one year, nine months.
Robert N. Barr, died May 10, 1837, aged three years, eleven months, fourteen days.
(Children of Robt. S. and Mary M. Barr.)
Robert Steele Barr, died Sept. 24, 1852, aged 55 years, 7 months and 15 days.
Mary M., wife of Robert S. Barr, died April 22, 1881, aged 78 years, 6 months and 13 days.
Alexander Douglass, died February 10, 1866, aged 47 years.
Albert M. Elston, died March 21, 1868, aged 29 years, 11 month and 1 day.
Sue M. Elston, wife of Albert M. Elston, died Oct. 25, 1868, aged 28 years, 1 month and 17 days.
James Ferguson, born May 15, 1812; died July 11, 1888.
Mary E. Ferguson, died Sept. 12, 1870, aged 43 years, 6 months and 7 days.
James Hickman, born June 5, 1764; died April 25, 1825.
William T. Hickman, born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, September 2, 1819; died January 31, 1897.
Sophia W. Hickman, born January 1, 1801; died April 29, 1843.
Mary F. Woods, wife of William T. Hickman, born in Boone county, Missouri, June 1, 1829; died August 23, 1905.

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David H. Hickman, born November 11, 1821; died June 25, 1869.

Annie Bryan, wife of David H. Hickman, born January 28, 1839; died July 9, 1867.

Eliza K. Hickman, wife of David M. Hickman, born November 7, 1802; died June 14, 1827.

David M. Hickman, born August 10, 1788; died June 14, 1851.

Milton Hickman, son of David M. and Cornelia A. Hickman, born August 25, 1835; died August 13, 1836.

Dr. George R. Jacobs, born in Nelson county, Virginia, Feb. 20, 1802; died February 24, 1877.

Laura H. Jacobs, wife of J. T. Jacobs, and daughter of J. M. and B. M. Huston, born December 27, 1836; died August 8, 1872.

Jeremiah Orear, born July 15, 1799; died April 28, 1875.

Mary Orear, born July 4, 1796; died December 12, 1864.

Nannie L., wife of John W. Rollins, and only daughter of Richard Stowers of Kentucky, born December 17, 1827; died July 16, 1862.

Sallie Rodes, wife of A. W. Rollins, born in Madison county, Kentucky, June 7, 1787; died July 12, 1856.

Robert R. Rollins, born in Madison county Kentucky, May 7, 1818; died March 2, 1864.

Anthony W. Rollins, born in Westmorland county, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1783; died October 9, 1845.

A model citizen, an able physician, a sterling patriot, a Christian philanthropist, just and upright in all the relations of life, he commanded universal respect and died lamented by all who knew him.

Sallie W. Rollins, born February 24, 1849; died in Denver, Colorado, November 20, 1872.

James S. Rollins, born in Richmond, Madison county Kentucky, April 19, 1812; died January 9, 1888.

Mary E. Hickman Rollins, wife of James S. Rollins, born in Howard county, Missouri, October 10, 1820; died May 1, 1907.

Annie E., wife of G. W. Rogers, died Oct. 13, 1870, aged 27 years, 6 months 13 days.

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James Shannon, LL. D., born in Monaghan county, Ireland April 23, 1799; died February 25, 1859.

A Christian philanthropist and teacher has gone to receive the crown of the faithful.

James Ways, son of James and Francis C. Shannon, born in Jackson, Louisiana, March 24, 1839; died July 20, 1859.

Emeline A. Staten, died January 11, 1867, aged 33 years.

Dr. Archibald Young, died February 23, 1869, aged 41 years, 4 months, 23 days.

DEATH NOTICES.

In "*Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*," published at Franklin, Howard county, Missouri, April 23, 1819, to June 16, 1826; at Fayette same county, June 29, 1826 to June 9, 1830; and Columbia, Boone county, May 4, 1830 to December 5, 1835, when the paper became the "*Columbia Patriot.*"

When the deaths did not occur at the place of publication or its vicinity, the place is stated. The first date give is the date of death, and the second the date of publication.

Dr. William Baldwin. Sept. 1, 1819; Sept. 3, 1819. Of U. S. Navy.

Capt. Aaron T. Crane. Sept. 26, 1819; Oct. 15, 1819. At St. L. Ex. P. M.

Christine Wilt. Oct. 11, 1819; Oct. 15, 1819.

Peter Ferguson. Feb. 16, 1820; Feb. 18, 1820.

Henry Carroll. Feb. 28, 1820; Mch. 4, 1820. Murdered.

Wm. Jucket, 6th Inf. Reg. Apr. 6, 1820; Apr. 22, 1820. At Cantonment, Missouri.

Maj. Chas. M. Phierson. June 29, 1820; July 1, 1820.

John S. Bristow. July 25, 1820; July 29, 1820. Of Ky.

Col. Daniel Boone. Sept. 26, 1820; Oct. 14, 1820. At Charette village.

Geo. Holliday. Sept. 30, 1820; Oct. 14, 1820.

Miss Elizabeth Shaw. Nov. 5, 1820; Nov. 16, 1820.

Heron Corum. Oct. 26, 1820; Nov. 16, 1820.

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John Short. Dec. 17, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821.
Wm. Chisham. Dec. 28, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821.
Wm. Chisham. Dec. 29, 1820; Jan. 15, 1821.
Jesse B. Boone. Dec. 22, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821. At. St. Louis.
Mrs. Charlotte C. L. Riske. May 19, 1821; May 21, 1819.
Charlotte Chambers Ludlow Risk. Aug. 28, 1821.
Col. Samuel Williams, Aug. 11, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821. At Chariton Co. Member Legislature.
Dr. Chas. Kavenaugh. Aug. 27, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821.
Mrs. Elizabeth Waserman. Aug. 27, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821.
John Payne. Sept. 15, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821.
Capt. Asa Morgan. Sept. 21, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821. At Boonville.
Miss Margaret Dodd, Sept. 18, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821.
James D. Miller. Sept. 23, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821. By lightning.
Miss Mary B. Patten. Sept. 8, 1821; Oct. 9, 1821.
Robert P. Barr. ———; Oct. 9, 1821.
Robert Shaw. Nov. 12, 1821; Nov. 13, 1821.
Mrs. Martha Clark. June 21, 1822; July 2, 1822.
Andrew McClure. Aug. 8, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Mrs. Nancy Mullens. Aug. 11, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Jno. W. Scudder. Aug. 11, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822. In Boonville.
Dabney Carr. Aug. 6, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822. In St. Louis.
Miss Caroline I. Barr. July 8, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Capt. Baxter M. Ewing. Aug. 13, 1822; Sept. 3, 1822 In Cooper county.
Col. Elias Rector, Aug. 7, 1822; Sept. 3, 1822. In St. Louis. P. M. and State Senator.
John Gaw. Sept. 11, 1822; Sept. 17, 1822.
James Donaldson. Sept. 26, 1822; Oct. 1, 1822.
John S. Peebels. Aug. 1822; Oct. 15, 1822. At St. Francisville.
James Barnes. Oct. 13, 1822; Oct. 22, 1822.
Mrs. Cynthia Jewell. Oct. 18. 1822; Oct. 22, 1822. Wife of Dr. Wm. Jewell. At Columbia.

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Armsted S. Grundy. Feb. 14, 1823; Feb. 18, 1823.
Franklin Chrissman. April 11, 1823; Apr. 15, 1823.
James Finney. Apr. 2, 1823; May 20, 1823. Of Howard county. At St. Louis.
Wm. S. Edwards. May 21, 1823; May 27, 1823. In Saline county.
Baylor Banks. July 14, 1823; July 22, 1823. Near Chariton.
J. H. Handy. Dec. 8, 1823; Dec. 23, 1823. Killed in duel at Potosi.
Henry V. Bingham. Dec. 26, 1823; Dec. 30, 1823.
Rev. Thos. Hubbard. Dec. 25, 1823; Dec. 30, 1823.
Chas. Carroll. Oct. 28, 1283; Jan. 6, 1824. At Williamsburg, N. Y. Formerly Register, Land Office, Franklin, Mo.
Daniel Chriesman and Bartlett Hall. Feb. 1, 1824; Feb. 5, 1824. Drowned below Boonville.
Dr. Jabez Hubbard. Feb. 4, 1824; Feb. 5, 1824.
Hon. John Rice Jones. Feb. 1, 1824; Feb. 14, 1824. At St. Louis. Judge Supreme Court.
Mrs. Jane Hughes. Feb. 5, 1824; Feb. 21, 1824.
James McMunn. Aug. 19, 1824; Aug. 21, 1824.
Mary Jane Todd. Aug. 24; 1824, Aug. 28, 1824.
Mrs. Mary Mahan. Aug. 30, 1824; Sept. 4, 1824.
John Shaw. Sept. 12, 1824; Sept. 18, 1824.
Cynthia Smith Berry. Oct. 4, 1824; Oct. 23, 1824.
Maj. Taylor Berry. Sept. 22, 1824; Nov. 6, 1824.
Mrs. John Shaw. Feb. 17, 1825; Mch. 1, 1825.
Peter B. Harris. May 2, 1825; May 7, 1825.
Elizabeth S. Hood, May 25, 1825; July 2, 1825.
Martha McGirk. July 8, 1825; July 16, 1825.
Frederick Bates. Aug. 4, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825. Gov. of Mo. At St. Louis.
Judge Rufus Pettibone. July 31, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825. Of Supreme Court. At St. Charles.
Matthias Haywood. Aug. 4, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825.
George McGirk. Apr. 6, 1826; Apr. 7, 1826.
Alex McNair. ———; Apr. 7, 1826. Late Governor.

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Mrs. Abr. Groom. Apr. 7, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Clay county.

Joseph Cooley. April 3, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Formerly of Howard county.

Mrs. Elizabeth Monroe. Mch. 31, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Of Saline county.

John Munro. May 13, 1826; May 26, 1826.

Mrs. Margaret Dargen. June 21, 1826; July 13, 1826.

Robert Patrick. Aug. 13, 1826; Aug. 7, 1826.

Capt. James Hickman. Sept. 13, 1826; Sept. 21, 1826. In Boone county.

Hugh Lunard. Sept. 2, 1826; Sept. 28, 1826. In Cooper county.

Mrs. Col. Jno. M. (Eliz.) Bell. Oct. 2, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. In Chariton county.

Mrs. David (Mary) Workman. Sept. 30, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. At Franklin.

Jane Peebles. Oct. 1, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. At Franklin.

Bennet H. Clark. Oct. 29, 1826; Nov. 2, 1826.

Dr. John Holman. Nov. 27, 1826; Nov. 30, 1826. In Chariton.

James Scott. Mch. 13, 1827; Mch. 15, 1827.

Miss Harriet L. Lientz. May 20, 1827; May 24, 1827.

Mrs. Eliz. Crawley. Sept. 19, 1827; Sept. 20, 1827.

Austin Martin.———; Sept. 20, 1827. Of Howard county. At Bluffton.

Mrs. Lucy Ann Green. Oct. 3, 1827; Oct. 12, 1827. At Chariton.

Mrs. Ann Williams. Oct. 10, 1827; Oct. 12, 1827. At Chariton.

William Wilson. Oct. 14, 1827; Nov. 9, 1827.

Joseph Simpson. Feb. 12, 1828; Feb. 22, 1828.

Rev. Samuel Giddings. Feb. 1828; Feb. 22, 1828. At St. Louis. By accident.

William Hughes. Jan. 10, 1828; Jan. 25, 1828.

William Witt. Dec. 25, 1827; Jan. 4, 1828. At Fayette. A Revolutionary Soldier.

Mrs. Elvira Thomson. May 29, 1828; May 30, 1828.

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Maj. Daniel Ketchum. Aug. 31, 1828; Sept. 12, 1828. At Jefferson Barracks. 6th Reg. U. S. Inf.

Samuel Shepherd. Sept. 15, 1828; Sept. 26, 1828. At Liberty.

Capt. Christopher Burckhardt. Oct. 13, 1828; Nov. 14, 1828. In St. Louis county. Revolutionary officer.

Capt. E. B. Witt. Feb. 24, 1829; Feb. 27, 1829.

Col. Auguste Chouteau. Feb. 24, 1829; Mch. 13, 1829. At St. Louis.

John Ferry. Apr. 1829; May 22, 1829. Near Alexandria, Lincoln county.

Peter Bass. May 18, 1829; June 12, 1829. Of Boone county. At Smithland, Kentucky.

Joseph Higbee. Aug. 9, 1829; Aug. 14, 1829.

Anderson Higbee. Aug. 14, 1829; Aug. 21, 1829.

Capt. John Hardeman. Recently; Oct. 2, 1829. Of Howard county. At New Orleans.

Wm. V. Rector. Sept. 16, 1829; Oct. 23, 1829. Ex-Auditor of Missouri. Near Little Rock, Arkansas.

Benj. Ayers. Sept. 10, 1829; Oct. 23, 1829. At St. Louis.

Mrs. Martha Reeves. Nov. 14, 1829; Nov. 20, 1829.

Mrs. Matilda Patten. Dec. 27, 1829; Jan. 1, 1830.

Mrs. Matilda Patton. Dec. 27, 1829; Jan. 8, 1830.

Mrs. Augustus H. (Mildred) Evans. Feb. 1, 1830; Feb. 12, 1830. At St. Louis.

Isaac C. McGirk. Feb. 5, 1830; Feb. 19, 1830. At St. Louis.

Mrs. Abner (Frances) Cornelius. Mch. 18, 1830; Apr. 2, 1830.

Jacob Stuart. Apr. 8, 1830; Apr. 9, 1830. (Hanged) Columbia.

Thos. Patton. May 17, 1830; May 22, 1830.

David Todd. June 6, 1830; June 12, 1830.

Matilda Jane Todd. June, 1830; June 12, 1830.

Mrs. Gen. W. H. (Eliza B.) Ashley. June 1, 1830; June 12, 1830. At St. Louis.

Wm. Peerce. July 25, 1830; July 31, 1830.

Charles Hardin. Aug. 20, 1830; Aug. 21, 1830.

Thos. Crosthwaite. Sept. 9, 1830; Sept. 18, 1830.

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William Jones. Oct. 5, 1830; Oct. 9, 1830.
Lt. James H. Wright. Sept. 20, 1830; Oct. 16, 1830. At Jefferson Barracks.
Samuel Conway. Sept. 17, 1830; Oct. 16, 1830. In Marion county. A Revolutionary soldier.
Elvira Bibb. Nov. 23, 1830; Nov. 30, 1830.
Col. Robert P. Farris. Dec. 27, 1830; Jan. 15, 1831. At St. Louis.
Henry Reily. Dec. 24, 1830; Feb. 5, 1831. At St. Louis
Dr. Daniel P. Wilcox. Feb. 10, 1831; Feb. 19, 1831. Representative House.
Mrs. Charity Hinch. Jan. 31, 1831; Mch. 5, 1831. In Howard county.
Mrs. Marshall B. (Mary) Smith. Aug. 9, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831.
Chas. Wahrendorff. Aug. 27, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831. At St. Louis.
Rev. James Bankson. Sept. 4, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831.
Daniel Barr. Sept. 21, 1831; Sept. 24, 1831.
Wm. Lemon. Sept. 25, 1831; Oct. 1, 1831.
Thos. Chevis. Oct. 2, 1831; Oct. 8, 1831.
Mrs. Hutchens (Mary) Barnett. Oct. 4, 1831; Oct. 8, 1831.
Stephen Hempstead. Oct. 3, 1831; Oct. 15, 1831. At St. Louis. Revolutionary soldier.
Mrs. Rev. Hoxey. Apr. 5, 1831; Apr. 7, 1832. At Fulton.
Mr. Napier. Mch. 25, 1831; Apr. 7, 1832. At Fulton.
Thos. Greenalge. May 23, 1831; June 2, 1832.
Nathaniel Ford. Recently; July 14, 1832. Sheriff Howard county. At New Orleans.
Mrs. Polly Ewing. Sept. 18, 1832; Sept. 29, 1832. In Lafayette county.
Joel L. Musick. Sept. 25, 1832; Oct. 6, 1832. Near Florissant. Represent. elect.
Maj. Jonathan Smith Findlay. Sept. 21, 1832; Nov. 1, 1832. Near Lexington.
Robert Johnston. Dec. 19, 1832; Dec. 29, 1832. At Fayette.
Jno. P. Thomas. Dec. 31, 1832; Jan. 5, 1833.
Alex. Stuart. Dec. 9, 1832; Jan. 12, 1833. Ex Speaker

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House and Judge Circuit Court, St. Louis. In Staunton, Virginia.

Thos. Jefferson Miller. Jan. 15, 1833; Jan. 26, 1833. In St. Louis.

Mary Frances Cornelius. Feb. 19, 1833; Feb. 23, 1833.

Geo. D. Woods. Mch. 27, 1833; Apr. 20, 1833.

Perlina Roberts. Apr. 19, 1833; Apr. 27, 1833.

Col. Wm. McRee. May 15, 1833; May 25, 1833. At St. Louis.

Hon. Alex Buckner. June, 1833; June 29, 1833.

Mrs. Alex. Buckner. June, 1833; June 29, 1833.

Col. James McClelland. July 8, 1833; July 13, 1833.

Mrs. Wm. R. (Eliza J.) Morton. ———; Aug. 24, 1833. At Lexington.

Saml. Hall, Mrs. S. Wells, Mrs. Joseph Smith, Capt Joseph McCann, Capt. Harvey Bledsoe. Aug. 24, 1833. Above five of cholera at Fayette.

Francis W. Hawley. Aug. 9, 1833; Aug. 24, 1833. At St. Louis.

Bartholomew Walsh. ———; Aug. 24, 1833. At St. Louis.

Robert Hood. Aug. 13, 1833; Aug. 24, 1833. At Boonville.

Benj. B. Ray. Aug. 31, 1833; Sept. 7, 1833. In St. Louis County. Ex Representative.

Margaret Bass. Sept. 12, 1833; Sept. 14, 1833.

Amelia Ann. Sept. 9, 1833; Sept. 14, 1833. Sister of Charity. At St. Louis.

Jane Amanda McAffee. Oct. 23, 1833; Oct. 26, 1833.

Geo. Compton Jewell. Nov. 12, 1833; Nov. 23, 1833.

Mary Melvina Bryan. Dec. 18, 1833; Dec. 21, 1833.

Gen. Danl. Bissell. Dec. 15, 1833; Jan. 4, 1834. At St. Louis.

Rev. David M. Kirkpatrick. Jan. 12, 1834; Jan. 18, 1834.

Mrs. R. W. (Harriet Amanda) Wells. Feb. 3, 1834; Feb. 15, 1834.

Catherine Ann Mullins. Feb. 17, 1834; Feb. 22, 1834. Suicide.

Mrs. Nathan Glasgow. Mch. 6, 1834; Mch. 15, 1834.

Mrs. Andrew (Elizabeth Irvine) McGirk. Mch. 29, 1834; Apr. 19, 1834.

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Col. Nicholas S. Burckhartt. June 13, 1834; June 20, 1834. In Howard county. Of cholera.

Col. Rufus Easton. July 5, 1834; July 12, 1834. At St. Charles, of Cholera.

John Mason. July 5, 1834; July 12, 1834. At St. Louis.

Capt. Thos. B. Williams. July 3, 1834; July 19, 1834. Near Richmond.

Mrs. Eliz. Williams. July 10, 1834; July 19, 1834. In Chariton county.

James M. McClelland. Aug. 10, 1834; Aug. 16, 1834; In Callaway county.

Maj. Thos. Wright. Nov. 9, 1834; Nov. 15, 1834. Near St. Louis.

Wm. G. Owens. ———; Dec. 6, 1834. Clerk Franklin Circuit Court. Shot.

Wm. C. Farrar. Feb. 20, 1835; Mch. 7, 1835. At St. Louis. By accident.

Rev. Allen McGuire. Mch. 30, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835.

Dr. Lloyd B. Giddings. Mch. 24, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. At Fayette.

Mrs. Col. Wm. (Nancy) Boon. Mch. 22, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. At Fayette.

Mrs. Thos. J. (Sarah) Givens. Apr. 2, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. In Jackson county.

Mrs. Benj. H. (Patsey) Reeves. May 9, 1835; May 16, 1835. At Fayette.

Judge Thos. Shackelford. June 17, 1835; June 27, 1835. Of Saline. At St. Louis. Cholera.

Jesse Hart. Aug. 4, 1835; Aug. 8, 1835.

Gen. I. P. Owen. Aug. 26, 1835; Aug. 29, 1835. At Fayette. Shot.

Elijah Hook. ——; Sept. 5, 1835. On Steamboat Far West.

Mrs. James (Susan) Cunningham. Sept. 4, 1835; Sept. 19, 1835.

Mrs. Capt. A. W. (Matilda R.) Turner. Aug. 13, 1835; Sept. 19, 1835.

Thos. J. Givens. Sept. 9, 1835; Sept. 26, 1835. At Potosi.

Lazarus Wilcox. Oct. 23, 1855; Nov. 7, 1835.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

Missouri Historical Review (in numbers.)

Vol. 1, 1906-07	$3.00
Vols. 2, 3, and 6, each	2.00
Vols. 4, 5, 7, 8, each	1.00
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Mrs. S. A. A. McCausland, Battle of Lexington as Seen by a Woman.

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Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, What I Saw at Wilson's Creek.

Judge Jno. F. Philips, Administration of Gov. Gamble.

————, Administration of Gov. Hall.

F. A. Sampson and W. C. Breckenridge, Bibliography of Civil War and Slavery in Missouri.

Floyd C. Shoemaker, Civil War in Northeast Missouri.

Col. J. F. Snyder, The Capture of Lexington.

Prof. E. M. Violette, Battle of Kirksville.

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VOL. VIII. APRIL, 1914. NO. 3.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

PUBLISHED BY

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary.
EDITOR.

SUBSCRIPUION PRICE $1.00 PER YEAR.
ISSUED QUARTERLY.

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER AT COLUMBIA, MO., JULY 18, 1907.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

EDITOR

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

Committee on Publication:

JONAS VILES, ISIDOR LOEB, F. A. SAMPSON.

VOL. VIII. APRIL, 1914. NO. 3.

CONTENTS.

Fort Orleans, The First French Post on the Missouri, by M. F. Stipes - - - - - - - 121

Recollections of Thomas N. Benton, by L. T. Collier - - - - - - - - - - 136

Echoes of Indian Emigration, by David W. Eaton 142

Historical Sketch of Shelby County, Missouri, by W. O. L. Jewett - - - - - - - - 154

Book Notices - - - - - - - - - - 164

Notes - - - - - - - - - - - 170

Necrology - - - - - - - - - - 173

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 8. APRIL, 1914. No. 3.

FORT ORLEANS, THE FIRST FRENCH POST ON THE MISSOURI.

One who makes a careful study of the explorations and efforts at colonization made in the Mississippi Valley by the Spanish and the French is struck by the marked difference in the purposes by which the two nations were animated, The efforts of each were by professed Catholics, and priests invariably accompanied every expedition of any importance. The French made commercialism a secondary matter; the glory of discovery and the conversion of such peoples as were found in the new lands to the true religion were of first importance. With the Spanish, the wild scramble for gold is seen in the history of every expedition. None save the black-robed priests seemed to be actuated by any desire to lead the red aborigines to the light of the Gospel. The Frenchman was willing to profit by a barter, more or less legitimate, with the red men for furs and skins; the Spaniard sought yellow gold, with the determination, when found, to wrest it, if necessary, from its possessors.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century there were afloat stories of the fabulous wealth in gold and other mines in the valley of the Missouri. The French nation was slowly penetrating the region in the prosecution of its purpose of exploring all the territory—or at least so much thereof as possible—of the unknown interior of the new

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continent. The Illinois region east of the Mississippi was known and occupied, but no settlement or fort existed on the west side of that great stream north of the gulf region. The belief that wonderful deposits of precious metals existed in the great Missouri Valley, and the intelligence that the French were gradually encroaching upon this territory, had aroused the cupidity of the Spaniards at the southwest. The result was the Great Caravan of 1720, which ended so disastrously for all the participants excepting one priest, who effected his escape by the fleetness of his horse, and carried to civilization the news of the fate of his companions. (1) While one may pity the sad end of the ill-starred adventurers who accompanied the soldiers, there is some mitigation in the fact that the fate of the caravan was the result of an endeavor to mete out a similar fate to the French of the locality.

In order that a better understanding of the conditions existant in the Mississippi Valley at the opening of the eighteenth century may be had, a brief *resume* of the enterprises and expeditions immediately preceding that to which this paper is devoted follows:

It seems that the French made several efforts to establish commercial relations with the Spaniards in the southwest, stimulated, doubtless, by the reports above mentioned of great mineral wealth in that region. The hope, too, that a water or other easy outlet to the Pacific Ocean (Mer de l' Ouest) existed somewhere in that direction gave a strong impetus to their spirit of exploration. (2) Hardy *voyageurs* pushed into dense wildernesses and across vast prairies. No danger was great enough to awe them. To this indomitable spirit France owed much of her claim to the great stretches of American soil. La Seuer, as early as 1683, had penetrated the unexplored wilds of Minnesota; Perrot, ten years later, had visited the Sioux country, and, in 1700, sailed up the Missis-

1. Charlevoix's Letters, p. 204; Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 46.
2. The French had become possessed of the idea, due to Indian reports, that the Missouri, in its upper course, bent so far to the south that a waterway to New Mexico was formed thereby.

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sippi with a party of twenty-five to its upper reaches, opening trade with this tribe. (3) In 1703 twenty Canadians tried to find their way from the Illinois to New Mexico, in the hope of stimulating trade. A year later Bienville wrote that one hundred Canadians, in small parties, were scattered along the Mississippi and the Missouri. In 1717 one Hubert proposed a scheme for following the Missouri to its source, saying, "Not only may we find the mines worked by the Spaniards, but also discover the great river that is said to rise in the mountains where the Missouri has its source, and is believed to flow to the Western sea." (4) However this report of the sources of these rivers had its origin, Lewis and Clark, nearly a century later, were able to verify it. In 1714 Saint Denis pushed up Red River to a point some seventy leagues above Natchitoches. Two years later, venturing again toward the Mexican borders, he was seized and his goods confiscated. (5) In 1719 Benard de la Harpe attempted to ascend Red River, but became entangled in the jungle of trees and driftwood, and much alarmed at the numerous snakes and alligators abounding therein. But he reached the navigable water above, turned to the northwest and traversed the prairies about the Arkansas River. The only end accomplished by this expedition of La Harpe was the confirmation of the report that the Comanches and the Spaniards had commercial interchange by this route. (6)

3. Penecant's Relation, Margry VI. Nearly all the original documents relative to the French in the Mississippi Valley are contained in "Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l' Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale (1614-1754)," a collection in six volumes by M. Pierre Margry, Director of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris. The collection was published, through the efforts of Francis Parkman, in 1874, in the French language, the United States Government paying for 500 copies. The work, as a whole, has never been printed in English. The writer has a manuscript copy of a translation of Bourgmont's Relation, his instructions, some letters pertaining to his enterprise, and the Memoires of Renaudiere, all of which are found in the sixth volume of Margry. This translation is the work of Edward A. Kilian of Manhattan, Kansas, Secretary of the Quivira Historical Society. Said translation, almost entire, can be found in Stipes' "Fort Orleans on the Missouri."

4. Hubert, Memoires encoyean Conseil de la Marine.

5. Margry, vi, 193.

6. La Harpe, in Margry vi, 264.

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The erection of Fort Orleans in 1723 has been ascribed by Amos Stoddard, (7) and by many subsequent writers, to the advent of the Spanish caravan of 1720 into the Missouri Valley. But the news of this event did not reach Bienville, the governor-general at New Orleans, until the middle of 1721, and his report thereof was dispatched to Paris on November 21st of the same year. (8) Hence, when one remembers the length of time required at that day for a voyage across the Atlantic, it will be realized that the news could not have been known at the French capital until about the first of February, 1722. And it is necessary to give a few words to the condition of affairs in France at this date, in order that a clear understanding of subsequent events may be had.

Sieur Etienne Venguard de Bourgmont had resided for some years among the Indians of the Missouri Valley, being engaged in barter with them. In 1718 he returned to France, and laid before the directory of the John Law Company the advantages to be derived from trade with these Indians, and advised the establishment of a post among them. Bourgmont, in common with the other Frenchmen of the Upper Illinois, believed that the region abounded in mineral wealth. He reached France at the time of the great financial distress, and found the officials eager to grasp at any scheme that promised to refill the coffers of the bankrupted kingdom. Hence Bourgmont was, on August 12, 1720, commissioned captain and commandant of the Missouri (9)—probably at about the time the great caravan met its fate. Therefore it is not possible that the Spanish caravan to the Missouri was

7. Sketches of Louisiana.

8. Bienville to Council of Regents, Margry vi.

9. In the library of the Missouri Historical Society, at St. Louis, is the original commission of Bourgmont from the Company of the Indies. The writer, in 1906, had it translated for his "Fort Orleans on the Missouri." The document is in a dilapidated condition and some words thereof are not legible. Following is the translation, as nearly complete as possible. It will be noticed that the Captain's name therein is spelled "Bourmont."

"Commission of Captain of Infantry in Louisiana, for the Sieur de Bourmont.

"The Directors of the Company of the Indies to the Sieur de Bourmont, Greeting: Taking into consideration the services which you have rendered

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responsible for the plan to establish a post or fort on the Missouri River. The French were aware of the Spanish claim to the region because of DeSoto's explorations west of the Mississippi in 1542, and it was plainly seen that if the fleur-de-lis was to be permanently established there, and if their nation was to profit from the representations of the great wealth, by Bourgmont and others (for which France was so much in need just then), it was high time they were taking steps to supplant their rivals.

When Marquette and Jolliet, in 1673, paddled down the Mississippi, they found near the mouth of the Missouri River a tribe of Indians bearing the same name. Later the ravages of the Sacs, Foxes and other predatory tribes forced the Missouris to abandon that locality, and they established their village on the Bowling Green prairie, a few miles below the mouth of Grand River, and on the north bank of the Big Muddy. Some writers state that at the time of the Spanish caravan the tribe still occupied this prairie, but there seems to be no warrant for such a claim, as we shall

to the King and to the Company in the country of Louisiana, both by the discoveries which you have made and by your acts of war which have caused the French nation to be respected and honored amongst the savages, and wishing to show you our satisfaction in giving you among the troops which are or may afterwards be sent to the said country a rank above that which you have until the present held;

"For these causes, and other good considerations, we, in virtue of the power accorded by His Majesty, have named you, commissioned and established you, name, commission, and establish you, to take and hold the rank of captain in the troops of infantry that the Company sends or will send in future to the colony of Louisiana, from the day and date present, *taut amsi?* (the same as if?) you held the chief command under the authority of the commandant general of the colony and of other superior officers (of the service?). We have given and give power, commission, authority, special mandamus. We give order to the Sieur de Bienville, Commandant-General of the colony, and in his absence to whoever may be in command, to receive you into service, recognizing (manuscript blurred) quality of captain and to (?) which he belongs to obey and hear all that you shall order for the glory of the name of His Majesty and the good of the service of the Company and the advantage of its commerce in the said colony of Louisiana. These letters are the (?) of the Company in the faith of what you have done. Sealed in presence with the seal of the Company and countersigned by the Directors of the same.

"Done in Paris, in (the hotel?) of the Company of the Indies, the 26th day of the month of July, 1720." The signatures to the commission are: Mouchard, Fromaget, Corneau, Castanier, D'Artaguette, Diron, Lallemant de Bet, Remy—as deciphered by the translator.

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show. Dutisne, who ascended the Missouri in 1719, records (10) that his further advance was barred by the Missouri tribe of Indians, whose village was at a "distance of 80 leagues from the mouth of the river Missouri. The prairie begins 10 leagues beyond their village. This would be a good place to make an establishment. The Missouris are jealous because the French go to other nations. One league southwest of them is a village of the Osages, which is thirty leagues from their great village." This great village, which Dutisne later visited, was situated on the Osage River, in what is now Vernon County. The first village of the Osages stood on what was afterward known as Petitesas (Petite Osage) Plains, near the present town of Malta Bend. Adjoined to a letter by M. Perry, written September 1, 1723, as quoted by Sieur de la Renaudiere, (11) is a statement in which it is said: "Continuing to ascend the Missouri, there is another river called Grand River, coming from the north. From there you go to the village of the Missouris, which is not more than six leagues to the southward." The remains of these two Indian villages are still to be seen on the Petitesas Plains, about three miles apart as stated by Dutisne. In Coues' Lewis and Clark, (12) it is said, "The sites of both these Indian tribes (Little Osages and Missouris) are plainly marked on D'Anville's map of 1752, and also on Perrin du Lac's, 1802. The location is very near the present town of Malta Bend, in Saline County, and a little above this place is the large island of Du Pratz, where was old Fort Orleans."

It will be remembered that the Spanish, in 1720, were attacked and destroyed by the Missouris on the south side of the river of the same name, says the narrative. Had the great village of this nation stood on the Bowling Green prairie at that date, it is not probable that a force of two thousand warriors would have been gathered on the south side of the stream in so short a time after the appearance

10. Dutisne a Bienville, Margry vi, 309-313.
11. Margry vi, 393.

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of the expedition. Just where its destruction took place is not known, but it must have been near the Missouri, and not far from the Petitesas Plains.

The responsibility for the claim that Fort Orleans was built on an island opposite Bowling Green prairie is attributed to Le Page du Pratz. Here is all that a careful examination of his "History of Louisiana" reveals on the subject: (13) "There was a French post for some time in an island a few leagues in length, over against the Missouris; the French settled in this post at the east point, and called it Fort Orleans." If it is established that the Missouris had been driven from the Bowling Green prairie some years prior to the founding of Fort Orleans (probably about 1700), it is easy to reconcile this statement of Du Pratz with the additional fact that the fort stood on an island in the Missouri, or on the north bank thereof, "vis-a-vis" (opposite) the village of the Missouris, at *Le Grande Passe*, at the upper end of the Petitesas Plains.

It is upon the foregoing statements that we base our conclusion that the establishment of the village of the Missouris in these plains, three miles northwest of the village of the Little Osages, was antecedent to the erection of Fort Orleans. As far as our researches have extended, it seems conclusive that to Lewis and Clark is due the statement that Le Page du Pratz located the fort on an island some five miles below the mouth of Grand River, being thus misled by placing an erroneous construction on the statement of Du Pratz, who had reference to the later location of the tribe, and not to the Bowling Green prairie. Bradbury and Brackenridge, who ascended the Missouri in 1811, both repeat the statement of Lewis and Clark, though none of the three claims to have seen any ruins or other evidences of the fort.

12. Coues's Lewis and Clark, i, 26.

13. Le Page du Pratz, English edition of 1763, vol. i, 296-297. In this volume is a map, showing, in the Missouri at about the mouth of the Grand River, an island, larger than an ordidary county, with Fort Orleans placed on the east end thereof.

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Having reached a conclusion as to the location of the Missouri tribe in 1723, we can proceed to the history of the fort itself, which stood "over against" the village of these Indians.

In the instructions to Bourgmont from the Council of the India Company, (14) he was directed to embark on the first vessel sailing to Louisiana; to apply to Bienville for aid and instructions; then proceed to the Illinois where he would receive the instructions of Boisbriant; thence to ascend the Missouri to the site chosen. In pursuance of these instructions, Bourgmont sailed from L'Orient in the summer of 1722, reaching Biloxi about the first of September. Thence he repaired to New Orleans, where Bienville supplied him with three boat loads of provisions, arms, merchandise and other requisites for his proposed enterprise; also some soldiers to serve first as boatmen, and later to garrison the projected fort. Thence he proceeded to stem the current of the Mississippi until Fort Chartres, on the Illinois bank of that river, some sixty miles below the present site of St. Louis, was reached. There the expedition spent the winter.

In the spring of 1723 Bourgmont proceeded up the Missouri, and was well received by his former friends, the Missouri Indians. A site near their village was given him for his establishment. A palisade fort was erected, within it a cabin for the officers and another as barracks for the soldiers. (15) The post was designated Fort Orleans, in honor of the Duke of Orleans.

Bourgmont made reports to the Council of Louisiana on November 27, 1723, and on January 11, 1724. In the latter he speaks of the necessity of more merchandise to carry on traffic with the natives, and adds, "I doubt if M. de Boisbriant will be able to hold this fort," which was prophetic of its fate.

14. In Margry, vi, bearing date of January 17, 1722.
15. Dumont's Memoires Historiques sur le Louisane, ii.

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The last duty enjoined upon Bourgmont was to effect a treaty with the Padouca (Comanche) Indians. (16) This predatory and warlike tribe at that time roamed the vast prairies from the headwaters of the Kansas to the Great Rockies, and from the Platte River to Texas and Mexico. In 1724 their main village stood some seven or eight miles southeast of the present town of Salina. (17) This tribe was on terms of friendship with the Spaniards, and effectually barred not only the French, but also those tribes friendly with the latter people, from all intercourse in that direction. But Bourgmont was directed "to open a profitable inland trade for the French, to approach the Spaniards and establish commercial relations with them, and induce the Padoucas to enter into a treaty of peace with all the Indian nations allied with the French and enter into an alliance with them." (18)

The latter part of the summer and the autumn of 1723 were doubtless spent in the erection of Fort Orleans and in effecting treaties with the neighboring tribes. In the ensuing spring preparations for the expedition to the Padoucas began. The director-general of mines for the Province of Louisiana, Philip Francois de la Renaudiere, together with several soldiers and helpers in his employ, had arrived for the purpose of accompanying the cavalcade. (19)

On June 25, 1724, some boats laden with merchandise, in charge of Lieutenant Saint-Ange and eleven soldiers, departed from Fort Orleans for the village of the Kansas Indians, at or near the site of Doniphan, Kansas. (20)

Bourgmont, on Monday, July 3, departed with the land force. This consisted of Ensign Saint Ange de Bellrive, five soldiers, three Canadians and servants, who had come with Renaudiere; one hundred Missouris, in command of their grand chief and eight war chiefs; sixty-four Osages, in command of four war chiefs. The Relation states that the

16. Instructions au Sieur de Bourgmont, 17 January, 1722, Margry vi, 389.
17. Edward A. Kilian, newspaper article.
18. Instructions, Margry vi, 389.
19. Bourgmont's Relation, Juin-November, 1724, Margry vi, 398.
20. Edward A. Kilian, newspaper article.

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party traveled "west and a quarter northwest," after leaving the fort. On the 7th they reached the river again, opposite the village of the Kansas, having marched 30 leagues or some 83 miles. On the 8th the party crossed the Missouri, the white men in pirogues, the Indians on rafts, while the horses swam. Much sickness prevailed. Bourgmont himself was among those sick, and Saint Ange with the boats was detained until the 16th, Bourgmont sending him assistance.

On July 24th the march was resumed. Many Kansas and other Indians had joined the expedition, and a few of those from the Petitesas Plains, on account of sickness, returned. On the 27th, the Relation states, "Sieur Renaudiere was posted on the road where the people passed by. He counted 300 warriors, 14 war chiefs, about 300 women and 500 children, and at least 300 dogs. The women carried loads which astonished the Frenchmen, who had not yet seen this nation. Everyone carried as much as one dog dragged. Girls of ten or twelve years of age carried more than 100 pounds. But it is true that with such burdens they do not make more than two or three leagues a day." (21)

On the 31st the expedition reached the Vermillion River, in what is now Potawattomie County, Kansas. Captain Bourgmont was seized by an attack of fever and the project had to be abandoned, the commandant being carried to the Kansas village on a litter. From there he traveled to Fort Orleans in a canoe. But he first sent to the Padoucas a woman aged about 22 and a boy of about 16 (whom the captain ransomed from the Kansas who held them as prisoners), with one of the Frenchmen named Gaillard, with a message that the captain would visit their village as soon as he was able.

On September 6th word came to Bourgmont that his messenger to the Padoucas had returned to the Kansas village (where Sergeant Dubois and a soldier had been left to await Gaillard), and that said messenger had been amicably re-

21. Renaudiere's Memoires, Margry vi.

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ceived by that tribe. Although far from being entirely recovered from his attack of fever, Bourgmont prepared to renew his effort to visit the Padoucas, and departed by water from Fort Orleans on September 20th with a much smaller company. He left the Kansas village on October 8th, reaching the village of the Padoucas ten days later, where the Frenchmen and their red companions were received with much cordiality and ceremony and the desired treaty duly effected. Bourgmont's party consisted of Saint-Ange, Bourgmont's son, Renaudiere, a sergeant and eleven soldiers, Gaillard, Sieur Quesnal, Prichard, and one helper, with ten horses to carry the merchandise. Of the Indians there were five Padoucas who had returned to the Kansas village with Gaillard, the grand chief of the Kansas, with four war chiefs of this nation, four war chiefs of the Othos and three of the Agovis. The women of the Padouca village made much ado over Bourgmont's son, and the chiefs made him valuable presents. The ceremonies and feasts continued from the 18th to the 22nd, when the return began. Fort Orleans was reached on November 5th, the commandant being there received with a discharge of firearms, the flags were run aloft and a Te Deum sang. (22)

One duty enjoined upon Bourgmont was to return to France within two years, bringing with him some Indian chiefs, "in order to give them an idea of the might and power of the French." (23) On the 19th of November, 1724, a general council of the nations of the Missouris, Osages and Othos was held "on the subject of choice of those whom they deputed to go to France." The Missouris sent four chiefs and the daughter of their grand chief, the Osages sent four chiefs, the Othos one warrior. So leaving his lieutenant in charge at Fort Orleans, Bourgmont set out early in 1725. Several prominent Indian chiefs joined the party at Kaskaskia. At New Orleans the ship on which the party em-

22. This account of Bourgmont's expedition is condensed from his Relation and from Renaudiere's Memoires, as found in the sixth volume of Margry.

23. Instructions, Margry vi, 389.

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barked sank, and after that misfortune only Chicagou (chief of the Metchigami), Manatouensa (chief of the Kaskaskias), two Osages and the girl proceeded on the journey. In due time the party reached Paris, where the Indians were royally entertained and feted, the chief's daughter being called "The Missouri Princess." She embraced Christianity, was baptized in the famous Notre Dame church, and later married Sergeant Dubois. The latter was promoted to captain, and after his return to America had command at Fort Orleans. Bourgmont remained in France, being created a Knight of St. Louis, and afterward married a rich widow. The Indians came home loaded with presents.

There was great rejoicing among the Indians at Petitesas Plains on the return of their friends. When the last boat of the season (1725) started down the river from the fort, peace and good will reigned supreme in that locality. In the instructions given to M. Perier, under date of September 30, 1726, appears the following: "A fort on the Missouri River, about 180 leagues from the Illinois, is kept up in maintenance; where there are actually twelve or fifteen men, although the whole should be reduced to eight. Whenever this expense appears unneccessary to M. Perier, it has to cease, and he will send to this place the missionary who is assigned them." (24)

But already an end had come to the fort and its little garrison. When the first boats came up the river in the season of 1726, they found only blackened ruins at its site. None of the white men were ever found. Dubois' Indian wife had renounced Christianity and was living with her tribe. She told nothing of the massacre. In Bossu's "Travels Through Louisiana," (25) the fate of the fort is tersely told: "Baron Porneuf, who has been governor of Fort Orleans, established in that nation [the Missouris], and who knows their genius perfectly well, has informed me that

24. Margry vi.

25. Bossu's "Travels Through Louisiana, vol. i, 145; Dumont's "Memoires sur le Louisiane," ii, 74-78.

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they were formerly very warlike and good, but that the French hunters had corrupted them by their bad conduct, and by some disunions among them; they had made themselves contemptible by frauds in trade; they seduced and carried off the Indian women, which, among these people, is a great crime. All these irregularities of these bad Frenchmen irritated the Missouris against them; and, therefore, during M. de Bienville's government, they massacred the Sieur Dubois and the little garrison under his command; and, as no soldier escaped, we have never been able to know who was right and who was wrong."

At "Le Grande Passe" was the crossing of all the predatory tribes of Indians whose homes were on the north side of the river, in their forays or visits to the south side. It was in the midst of a veritable hunters' paradise. On the south side were the villages of two of the dominant tribes. This, then, would seem like an ideal place for the establishment of Fort Orleans. It was probably located on the north bank of the broad Missouri, or on an island in that stream, with the main current on the south side thereof. The evidence we have presented supports that contention, and the relation of Bourgmont's expedition by land seems to add additional weight. This Relation fully harmonizes with our conclusion. Nothing is said of his expedition crossing the Missouri on July 3, 1724, and the route followed from the fort will lead with singular directness to the location of the Kansas village. The party certainly did not start from a spot below the mouth of Grand River, as any one can determine by a few minutes' study of a map of that region. The site of the fort probably washed into the river years prior to the expedition of Lewis and Clark. The fort was opposite (vis-a-vis) the village of the Missouris, and the creeks (rivieres) mentioned in the Relation correspond remarkably with what would be encountered today should one start in the south part of Carroll County, opposite the site of the old Indian villages, and travel in the direction indicated in Bourgmont's Relation.

Before the writer is a fac-simile copy of Perrin du Lac's

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map of the Missouri Valley, bearing the date 1802. On it, at a longitude of about 96 degrees and 30 minutes, are "Anciens villages des petite Os et Missouris," on the south side of the Missouri River. Opposite (on the north side of the river) is a square labeled, "Vieux Fort." This is placed at some distance above the mouth of Wakenda Creek.

It is singular that while the French writers of the eighteenth century often gave much space to what would usually be considered as minor and insignificant details, at the same time they failed to chronicle matters that seem to be of prime importance. Not one of them, for instance, states whether Fort Orleans stood on the north or the south side of the Missouri. It is said to have been opposite the Missouri village, which seems to indicate that it was on the north side, and the fact that evidences of this village and that of the Little Osages were plainly visible at the advent of the first white settlers leaves no doubt as to the location of these tribes. Du Pratz locates the fort on an island, as shown above, while Perrin du Lac puts it on the north bank of the river. Contemporary evidence seems to leave little doubt as to the correctness of this map. The bottom land of this locality is, on the north side of the river, several miles in width, the current of the Missouri is constantly changing in position, hence the site of this early French fort may have tumbled into the Missouri many years prior to the journey of Lewis and Clark.

From the number of relics and from other indications it would seem that the Petitesas Plains and the higher lands adjoining were the scene of many sanguinary conflicts between Indian tribes. In several places the ruins of fortifications are plainly visible today. It is believed that the last of the native tribes were driven from this locality about 1775, after many fierce battles. The condition of the relics found show that flames swept bare the tracts upon which the lodges stood. Among these relics, besides Indian flints, are gun barrels, kettles and other iron utensils, all of which bear evidences of fire. Among these relics are two two-pound cannon balls, probably fired from some boat. Some

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two years ago, in clearing a tract of land about one mile west of Malta Bend, a tract that had never been cultivated theretofore, embankments evidently artificial were found, with ditches and pits, the latter similar to those found elsewhere in the vicinity. Many bones were found, some of which, at least, were human. There were also found about one hundred gun barrels (some inscribed with a French name), several iron hoes and a sort of adze with a circular cutting edge. These finds are similar to earlier ones in that locality. (26)

The land on which these ruins are found is high and comparatively level. To the north or northwest of this high land (which is the western portion of Petitesas Plains) is an abrupt "bluff," in places a hundred feet in height, descending to the real bottom lands along the Missouri River. When the writer visited that locality in 1868 there was, at the base of these bluffs, a long shallow lake or series of lakes, extending from Grande Passe in an eastwardly direction to and below Malta Bend. These lakes were not wide at any point—perhaps from a few yards to not exceeding one-fourth mile. The soil-laden drainage from the tilled uplands was gradually filling them, and it is probable they have now almost, if not entirely, disappeared. The upland was cut occasionallly by a ravine, but otherwise was quite level. The locations of the two Indian villages and the embankments and other pre-historic remains are on the high lands, at or near the edge of this bluff. The Petitesas Plains have a considerable elevation above the bottom lands proper along the river, and before Miami is reached both bottoms and plains disappear. Two miles above that town, however, at the top of the bluff, along the base of which at this point sweeps the turbid waters of the Missouri, are the ruins of ancient fortifications, covering some six acres of land.

M. F. STIPES.

26. This information is obtained from a gentleman who visited the scene shortly subsequent to the discovery of the ruins. A number of the gun barrels and other relics are in possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF THOMAS H. BENTON.

Col. Benton was a Senator in Congress from Missouri for thirty years, and compeer of Webster, Clay and Calhoun, and his record of public service has long been familiar to the American public, and nothing new, of course, can now be added; but as is common with any illustrious man who has played a conspicuous part in the councils of his country, and left his impress upon its legislation for a long period, it is quite natural that attention should be directed to the personal characteristics of such a man; and people generally are always curious to know something of those personal traits and everything relating to his personality, the incidents of his life, his general make-up, size, expression of countenance, bearing, and personal habits, especially after he has passed from the stage of action; and succeeding generations are likely to be interested in the particulars of his life, from the cradle to the grave, and esteem it a special privilege to meet any surviving contemporary who may have known him, seen or heard him speak while he was still in life.

Col. Benton was a remarkable man, of stalwart physique, aggressive, courageous, with talents of high order and great industry, possessing a great fund of information and earning the appellation of the "Walking Library." These qualities were exemplified in his long career of public service. With this preliminary, the writer hereof proceeds to recall some of his own personal recollections of the great man in question.

In the summer of 1843, the writer being a student at our State University, and during its vacation accompanied his father, with two or three of his friends, from his home county of Randolph, on a business trip to New Orleans. On return to St. Louis passage was taken on a steamboat bound for the Missouri River, and having passed Jefferson City during the night, early the following morning a large, robust

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man of florid complexion was observed sitting in a barber's chair and in the process of being shaved. It was soon known that this man was Col. Thomas H. Benton. After breakfast, accompanied by Dr. John J. Lowry of Howard County, his long personal and political friend, he came out to the bow of the boat, and was introduced to the bystanders. He was dignified, reserved, and by no means familiar or communicative, and simply contended himself with asking some questions as to the different varieties of timber that lined the banks of the river, and soon retired to his state room. Nothing of a political character was broached or discussed in this short interview.

Afterwards, during the same summer, Col. Benton, in his rounds of the State, visited Columbia, the seat of our State University, and, as usual, stopped at Gentry's Hotel, then kept by Mrs. Gentry, widow of Col. Richard Gentry, who was killed in the Florida war. At the hotel the writer, with one or two other students, had rooms and board, and while sitting in the waiting room after breakfast, in strode a grave and dignified gentleman, who stopped a moment and then passed out without saying a word or giving a sign of recognition. This man we understood to be Col. Benton. He remained a day or two, calling on President Lathrop of the University, and conferring with personal and political friends in and around Columbia.

During this visit a religious revival was going on, under auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and at an evening service Col. Benton was in attendance, accompanied by the two Misses Lenoir, in whose family he then was a guest.

During this same visit (as I remember) occurred a serious difficulty between two students, Thomas F. McLean and John H. Moore, and as the facts disclosed that McLean was in the wrong, the faculty had already expelled or was about to expel him. Meanwhile, McLean availed himself of the presence of Col. Benton in Columbia and applied to him for a cadetship at West Point. Col. Benton, on full inquiry, as was doubtless the case, became satisfied of McLean's

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fitness and gave him the appointment. It was then, and ever since has been, a mystery how McLean managed thus to secure Col. Benton's favor. Of all the students (to the writer's knowledge) McLean was the oddest and most unique one that ever entered the University. He was of stout, muscular build, always dressed in homespun, a close student, rarely went to bed, preferring to study sitting in his chair, with a light burning at all hours at night, and taking but short snatches of sleep to relieve exhaustion, and withal, his hair never touched by shears or beard by razor, he was a young man of strange, uncouth appearance. In spite of these peculiarities, or by reason of them, Col. Benton's favor was won and the appointment made.

In 1849 the Great Railroad Convention was held at St. Louis. It was called for the purpose of inaugurating the movement for the construction of a trans-continental railroad, to run from the seaboard of the Atlantic to the Pacific shore. It was a large and representative body, attended by prominent men from the states of the middle west, north and south. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois presided. Col. Benton was there, and made his great speech in support of the proposed railway, emphasizing its national importance, and depicting the rich trade that would come to us from India and other nations east, and answering all objections, particularly the one as alleged, that the Rocky Mountains would be an insurmountable barrier. As to this, he declared that when the foot of the Rockies was reached, instead of trying to run over or around them, the plan was to tunnel through them on a common level, and thus clear the way of construction on to the Pacific Coast, and proposing that when the great work was completed a statue should be placed on the highest pinnacle of the mountain with hand pointing towards the Orient—"There is the East—There is India."

The convention bore fruit, but it was not till some time during the war that Congress took up the matter and passed the act authorizing the construction of this national highway.

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During the proceedings of the convention Col. Benton again exhibited one of his personal characteristics. Col. James H. Birch of Plattsburg and himself were not on friendly terms. This bad feeling grew out of some alleged slanderous words as used by Benton, charging that Birch had mistreated his wife. A suit for slander then pending or soon after brought by Birch against Benton remained on the court dockets for a number of years.

On this occasion, when Benton had finished his speech and had taken his seat, Birch addressed the chair, and when in the act of addressing the convention, Benton quickly rose, and taking up his hat and cloak, was about to leave the hall, but friends intervened and at last prevailed on him to remain. This feud continued, and it is related that afterwards, during the same year, Benton had an appointment to speak at Platte City, the day being fixed. On his arrival he learned that Birch had spoken there the day before Benton was angered and declared that he would not speak from the platform that Birch had occupied the day before, and persistently refused to speak until his friends arranged a place outside of the town limits, where he at last addressed the crowd assembled.

On March 14th, 1849, the General Assembly of Missouri passed the famous Jackson resolutions relating to the vexed question of slavery and instructing the Missouri Senators in Congress to act in compliance therewith. Benton refused to obey the instructions, and took his celebrated appeal direct to the people of Missouri. The result of the contest thus raised was a split in the Democratic party of Missouri. Benton came home from Washington and entered upon a thorough canvass of the state, everywhere denouncing the Jackson Resolutions as "Fire Brands," and leading directly to secession and disunion.

But the ensuing Legislature, before which Benton was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, failed to sustain him, and James S. Green of Lewis County received the majority and was declared Benton's successor. During that celebrated canvass the writer again heard

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Benton at Fayette, Missouri, where had been Benton's general headquarters for the State, and here lived Dr. Lowry, Claiborne F. Jackson and others, long personal and political friends, but now bitter enemies, constituting a part of the anti-Benton wing of the democracy. Owing to the embittered feelings engendered by this disruption of the party, it was anticipated that Benton would not be permitted to speak, and if he did, Claiborne F. Jackson was expected to reply. Benton made his speech, denouncing as usual his Democratic opponents and met with no interruption. On its conclusion he left immediately for Boonville, where he was to speak the next day. The late John W. Henry, then a young attorney, and loud in his opposition to Benton, was, in the absence of C. F. Jackson, urged to make reply. This he positively declined to do, saying that if he should make the attempt "Benton would eat him up in a minute." Finally, however, he consented that if they would wait until Benton was known to be half way on the road to Boonville he would "Speak and give him h—ll."

As the result of this exciting campaign, the ensuing Legislature failed to sustain Benton, and James S. Green of Lewis County was elected as his successor in the United States Senate. In 1852 Benton was elected a Representative in Congress from the St. Louis district, but was defeated for re-election by Luther M. Kennett, the Whig candidate.

To conclude these reminiscences, the writer remembers that the last time he had an opportunity to see and hear Col. Benton was at Chillicothe during his canvass for Governor in 1856. He stopped at the Fitzmorris House, a frame building then standing on the present site of the Henrietta Hotel. After dinner, while Benton was sitting on the porch fronting the street, a big crowd gathered, anxious to see the distinguished man, of whom they had heard so much. A farmer, of bushy head and unshorn face, called out to Col. Benton, and inquired to know his age. Promptly the Colonel replied: "According to the calendar, my age is 74, but when anything is to be done I am 35 years old, sir."

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Col. Benton's speech on this occasion was mild and conciliatory as compared with his speeches in former campaigns, and at its close he proceeded on his way to Linneus, his next appointment, stopping for the night with Major Seth Botts, a pioneer settler of Linn County.

The ensuing election resulted in the election of Trusten Polk of St. Louis and the defeat of Benton for Governor. At the following session of the General Assembly Col. Benton was again a candidate for the United States Senate, but owing to the division of the Democratic party, and the alliance of the Anti-Benton wing with the Whig members, Henry S. Geyer of St. Louis, long a Whig leader in the State and eminent lawyer of the St. Louis bar, was, after a protracted contest, declared elected for a term of six years as Senator from Missouri.

Thus ends Benton's political career, and the writer's recollections of this distinguished Missourian. That he had faults, infirmities of temper, and outbursts of passion, exhibited often, in a long, and at times, stormy career, must be acknowledged, but these now should be regarded simply as mere specks upon the sun, whose light shall continue to shine undimmed upon the memory of this great man, and the record of his service to the State of his adoption and the country at large.

L. T. COLLIER.

Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 5, 1914.

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ECHOES OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

Second Paper.

When Missouri became a state in 1821, as stated in my previous article on "Echoes of Indian Emigration," and William Clark settled his accounts on June 30th, 1821, as "Ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs," he was not out of this office very long. In a little more than a year he was appointed as "Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, Missouri," and this office he administered until his death September 1st, 1838.

When Missouri became a state several tribes of Indians were within its borders. The Shawnees, originally from the "Straits," (1) had become scattered over parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. When they migrated from these homes east of the Mississippi, they settled along the eastern border of Missouri. A few of them settled on the Meramec river, about 30 miles northwest of the lead mines, (2) but the greater number settled in the vicinity of Cape Girardeau. In 1793 Baron de Carondelet granted the Shawnees and Delawares (3) a grant of land near Cape Girardeau. The Delawares left this tract sometime in 1815, scattering to various places, but most of them settled on James' Fork of White River. Some of them went to the Kansas. Those on White River were removed to the lands allotted to the Delawares between the Kansas River and Camp Leavenworth in —— (4). The Shawnees were given land just west of what is now Newton and McDonald counties in the Indian

1. Houcks' Spanish Regime in Mo., Vol I, p. 45. "The Shawnees * * come to get presents, although rarely. These tribes belong to the Straits."
2. Lead mines had been worked in Washington, Jefferson and St. Francois counties since 1720.
3. See referenc to in Indian treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 388.
4. See reference to in Indian treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 444.

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Territory, and this tract was 25 by 100 miles square. (5) The Osages had been for many years near the western part of the State on the upper waters of the Osage; their principal village (The Great Osages) was near the mouth of the Marias de Cygne, and Harmony Mission, near where Papinsville now is, was established for their benefit. The Kickapoos were granted land from the mouth of the Pomme de Terre to its source and westward to include most to the old Osage line due south from Fort Osage (6). An interesting item in Clark's accounts relates to a disturbance in the Kickapoo tribe, then living on the Pomme de Terre, on account of some objectionable settlers among them, and it became necessary to send an officer to settle it.

When the Seneca Indians arrived at Jefferson City they pursued their course westward over what was known about this date as the "Harmony Mission Trail," which passes the present sites of Versailles and Cole Camp and on through Henry county to the Mission on the Marias de Cygne.

Emigrant Indians, Vol. V, p. 102 et seq.

See "While the Seneca Indians were in camp on Quiver Creek, near Troy, the following expenses were incurred:

Dec. 2, (1831), Lawson Levering, ferrying over the Missouri at St. Charles of 16 wagons and teams, engaged in the transportation of the Senecas and sundry Indians and horses, $40.25.

William Eckart, provisions and provender for the Indians and their horses, $28.53.

(Provisions and feed was also bought from Paul Trendler, John Wells, James Taylor and Christopher Clark.)

James H. Audrain, on Dec. 24th, furnished wagon and team in transporting sick Indians from St. Charles to encampment near Troy, $17.50.

Jan. 24th, 1832, Robert C. Mott, corn, $73.00.

April 25th, J. S. Chauvin, horse, wood and coffin, $28.52.

5. See reference to in Indian treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 388.
6. See Indian treaties, 1778 to 1837.

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April 28, R. Payne (sold various articles from store), $56.91.

May 1st, S. T. McKenny, a horse, saddle and bridle for Henry C. Brish, agent for Senecas, $79.00.

May 2nd, Christ Clark, corn for 43 Indian horses during the winter, $132.50.

May 3rd, M. C. Martin, 9 coffins for Senecas and their children who died at their encampment near Troy, $30.00.

M. C. Martin, ferriage of 24 wagons and teams over Quiver River, with Indians and baggage, $30.00.

May 6th, Christ Clark, provender, etc., and for the use of storehouse to deposit ploughs, hoes, axes, etc., due the Indians under treaty, $40.00.

May 7th, Lawson Lovering, ferriage of party from Indiana over the Missouri to St. Charles, $32.50.

May 8th, Block and Snethan, 50 lbs. of tobacco for use of Indians, $10.00.

May 9th, Arington Perkins, a horse for public service, $50.00.

May 9th, J. N. Robbins, necessary groceries for sick Indians at the encampment near Troy, $12.50.

About this last date the Indians broke camp and started for their lands west of Missouri, and on the way the following accounts appear:

May 18, Granville Basye, medicine and attendance on sick Indians forwarded by steamboat to Jefferson City, $5.00.

May 21st, Wm. Kidwell, ferriage of wagons, etc., over Missouri at Jefferson City, $134.50.

May 21, Wm. Kidwell, pasture for Indian and government horses while delayed at the Missouri at Jefferson City, $22.50.

May 21, Thomas Miller & Co., 2 tents, linen for horse covers, and necessary medicine, tea and sugar for use of the sick, $57.75

July 24, Robert E. Mott, attention and nourishment of sick left in camp at Quiver River near Troy, 2 coffins, $46.00.

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Thomas Rodgers, ferriage of 16 teams over the Missouri on their return from the Seneca lands, $32.00.

* * * * *

Nov. 30, 1831, Alexander Moore, use of 2 wagons and teams in conveying Senecas from St. Louis to about 8 miles from the city, $8.00.

Dec. 1, J. Mullanphy, rent of house, $15.00.

Dec. 2, John Simonds, 10 cords of wood at $3.25, $32.50.

Dec. 9, O. D. Bolster, services with team in moving Seneca Indians from St. Louis to Troy, 55 miles, 6 days going and 3 returning at $4.00 per day, $36.00.

D. Goodfellow, ditto, $36.00.

Dec. 12, J. M. Tomlinson, ditto, 10½ days, $42.00.

Jesse Colbourn, keeping horses, $26.28.

Numerous other items occur in the accounts of Wm. Clark in relation to these removals while passing through Missouri.

* * * * *

The second Auditor in Treasury department complained to Wm. Clark as to the delay on this trip, and the following letters explain the conditions:

Troy, Lincoln Co., Dec. 12, 1831.*

Sir: I presume that you have been informed by Major H. C. Brish, the agent for the Seneca Indians, that I have contracted with him for supplying the Seneca Indians while they remain in the county of Lincoln, and also for the first six months after their arrival on their lands; and as it will require a considerable fund, more than I can command without borrowing, to purchase and lay in the necessary supplies to fill the contract, and which must be expended now immediately before the present killing time passes, or perhaps they could not be purchased in the upper settlements at all. This, therefore, is to solicit the favor of you, if not inconsistent with the public interest and convenience with yourself to advance on the contract. It will be a very great

*Em. Ind. Vol. 5, p. 114.

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favor, and I am willing to give any security that may be deemed necessary for the faithful disbursement of said funds so advanced, and for that special purpose. I will stand in need of five or six thousand dollars. Maj. Brish promised to call on you and see if any advance could be made; if so, I was to have the benefit, and he was to inform me of the result; but the time is drawing so near that the meat must be purchased and barrelled, that there is no time for delay, and my health is so impaired, although gaining, I thought it advisable for my brother to go to St. Louis to make the arrangements there if they could be made, so that I can go up the country as soon as I am able to ride. If it should meet your approbation to advance, you can prepare a bond, my brother will sign it and bring it up, and have it filled here with such names as will satisfy you, and send it down.

Mr. Rutland (Ruland) is acquainted with all the responsible men in this county, and I can give any names mentioned, etc. My brother will be the bearer of this, and await the result. I am, most respectfully, with high esteem,

Your obedient servant,

Gen. Wm. Clark, (Signed) DAVID BAILEY.
Sup. Indian Affairs.

Gen. Wm. Clark, Supt. Indian Affairs: *1

The subjoined is an estimate of the cost of the rations that will be required for the first six months after their arrival on their lands, viz.:

It will take 182,000 lbs. of freight from Lexington, Mo., to the Seneca lands, will make 81 wagon loads, and twenty days to each load is 1,820 days, at $4.00 per day is $7,280
365 bbls. pork at $9.00 per bbl. is..... 3,285
375 bbls. flour at $5.00 per bbl. is..... 1,875

$12,440

* * * * *

*1. Emigrating Indians, Vol. 5, p. 116.

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Troy, May 8, 1832.*2

Dear Sir: I have experienced much difficulty and delay in reaching the encampment of the Senecas, who remained here during the winter on account of the high water of Quiver River. We crossed it by swimming the teams with the empty wagons, and after loading proceeded with the Indians and their baggage about five miles up the river, when we had the good fortune to employ a boat, which, although small, has accomplished the object of crossing us. The party which came on last have now joined their friends, and on tomorrow we shall start the whole upon their journey. I have been obliged to leave six of the party which encamped here during the winter in their wigwams, being too ill to be moved, and will no doubt die in a short time. Sixteen others are very sick, but I have made most comfortable arrangements to carry them on, and have employed additional teams for that purpose. The roads are almost impassable, and I apprehend a tardy trip. The small spring branches in this neighborhood were yesterday deep enough to swim a horse. I have the honor to be, with much esteem,

Your obedient servant.

Gen. Wm. Clark, (Signed) HENRY C. BRISH,
Supt. Indian Affairs. Agent Emigrating Senecas.

* * * * *

Camp 15 miles east from Jefferson,
May 16th, 1832.*3

Sir: The Senecas under my charge have been overtaken by two young men of their tribe, belonging to a party (42 in number) which has for some years past resided near Ste. Genevieve. The chief of my party, at their request, solicit their removal to the lands assigned them; for which I refer them to you. Their expenses in coming here have been paid by themselves; they will also have to pay hire for the horses which they are now riding, and they request, as "they are

*2. Emigrating Indians, Vol 5, p. 116.
*3. Emigrating Indians, Vol. 5, p. 117.

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poor," that the whole amount expended by them may be refunded to them; for their service in performing this errand for their friends they request some "little presents." We are getting along well, considering the excessive badness of the roads and the great number of sick. The measles have broken out among the Indian children, and I fear that many of them will die in consequences of the exposure to which they are unavoidably subjected. In haste I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

Gen. Wm. Clark, (Signed) HENRY C. BRISH,
Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis. Agent Senecas.

Encampment, Grand River, June 6, 1832.*2

Sir: Our journey to this place has been very slow in consequence of the almost continual hard rain and the excessive deep state of the roads. The smallest streams and drains upon the prairies have several times delayed us by being swimming deep. We have had much trouble and some delay on account of sickness, which has gone the rounds of the whole tribe. We have been in camp at this place since Saturday last, waiting for the river to fall sufficiently for fording, until yesterday it has been ten feet above that point; it is now falling rapidly, and I am in hopes we shall soon cross. The rivers in advance of us are also out of their banks, and we shall perhaps have some difficulty on account of them.

I am sorry to inform you that Colonel Bailey must lose considerable by his contract to furnish rations for my Indians, in consequence of those failing to comply who had contracted to furnish him with the necessary provisions; compelling him therefore to pay high prices for his supplies and to procure them from more remote points. He has, notwithstanding, procured the quantity contracted for with me for provisioning the Indians during the next six months without a murmur at his loss. Provisions of every kind are high and scarce in this country. Many difficulties exist

*2. Em. Ind., Vol. 5, p. 118.

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between the Senecas and Cayuga parties of my Indians; they are constantly quarreling, and at times I am fearful that they will break out into open hostility and give me much trouble.

In haste, I have the honor to be, with much esteem,

Your obedient servant,

Gen. Wm. Clark, (Signed) HENRY C. BRISH,
Supt. Indian Affairs. Agent for Emigrating Senecas.

* * * * *

Camp at Maries des Signes, near Harmony Mission,

July 12, 1832.*1

Sir: We have been here waiting two days for the river to fall sufficiently for us to cross. I was under the impression on my arrival at this place, and until this morning, that we should be compelled to take the route by way of "White Hair's Village," it being the only wagon road; but very fortunately I met with a man this morning who is perfectly acquainted with the country, in a direct line between this and the Seneca lands; he is recommended by the gentlemen of the missionary establishment as worthy of confidence, and I have employed him as a guide. By this route we shall reach our destination four or five days sooner than by "White Hair," and our new guide assures us we shall have a better road. We have found the road to this place deep and muddy, and expect difficulty throughout the journey as the mud stiffens, particularly at the watercourses, which have been very high. We leave here in the morning; the river will be low enough for our wagons to cross empty; our baggage will be carried over on horseback. We are now preparing to bury an Indian woman; several others (children) are at the point of death. We have been delayed much by sickness; it was unavoidable.

I have been informed by the person whom Mr. McCoy employed to survey the Seneca lands that there are not more than 50 to 100 acres of good land in the whole tract; that the

*1. Em. Ind., Vol. 5, p. 117.

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rest is a bed of flinty rocks, Mr. McCoy's report to the contrary notwithstanding. If this is the fact, God help the poor Senecas; they expect to become agriculturists at their new home. With great respect, I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

(Signed) H. C. BRISH,
Agent for Emigrant Senecas.

Gen. Wm. Clark,
Supt. Indian Affairs.

July 16, 1832.*1

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that on the fourth day of July (inst.) I succeeded in reaching and placing the Seneca tribe of Indians from Sandusky upon the lands assigned them under treaty of 28th of February, 1831. This, sir, was a laborious duty, and in the discharge of it I have encountered many difficulties which were unlooked for and unexpected. On reaching the encampment of the party which remained in the neighborhood of Troy during the winter I found upwards of a hundred Indians sick of different kinds of disease, principally, however, with measles; most of whom were too ill either to walk or ride on horseback, and I was compelled, being the only alternative, to increase the number of wagons for that party to 24, which, together with those employed with the párty which arrived this spring past, made 30. With this number I performed the journey throughout, notwithstanding the increase of sickness and the frequent solicitations of the Indians to employ others, although I was obliged to admit, at the same time, that more were absolutely necessary for the comfort of the sick. But, sir, the number already in service being so much above what was supposed necessary upon the estimate, and consequently the expense incurred so much greater, obliged me to resist all their importunities to employ more, and proceed with the number stated as well as possible. The immense quantity of baggage taken by these people left but little room for the sick in the wagons; and there were several instances on this journey when the sick, the dying and the dead were

*1. Em. Ind., Vol. 5, p. 118.

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crowded together in the same wagon, and it was unavoidable. I regret to inform you that nine of the tribe (four adults and five children) died between the Osage Mission at Harmony and the Seneca lands. Such as were christians required time to perform the burial rites as they understood them; and such as were pagans solicited the privilege of performing theirs. Neither could be interfered with, and of course much time was spent in this way. For a statement of the extreme distress suffered by these poor creatures, I respectfully refer you to Dr. John T. Fulton, special agent for removal and subsistence of Choctow Indians, who was the bearer of letters to me from the War Department, and subsistence office, Arkansas, and met me previous to my arrival upon the Seneca lands, and who visited the sick at my request and afforded relief to many of the sufferers. In the outset of our journey we had to contend with high water; in some cases we could cross streams by raising our loading in the wagons to a pitch above the water; in others we had to make entire bridges, and in others, where the streams were too large for either, and no means of ferrying offered, we were obliged to wait for the water to fall, which was the case at Grand river (Mo.) and at Maries des Signes, Osage Mission. At both these places, after the water had abated sufficiently, we crossed; there were still difficulties to oversome, for such is the nature of the soils along these streams that immediately and for some time after a high stage of water the banks will mire either horses or oxen in ascending or descending them. All such places required bridging the banks, which not only took up much of our time, but imposed much labor upon the wagoners and others in the service. Difficulty in crossing wet bottom prairies can scarcely be imagined, and we could only cross them by disengaging the oxen and horses from half the wagons and adding them to the other half, and then the whole to those left; this had to be done repeatedly in the course of almost every day, which, of course, was calculated to retard our progress very greatly.

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In the last part of our journey the flies attacked our horses and oxen in such immense swarms that we could only travel before daylight or after dark. This severe duty rendered a noble set of horses and oxen almost unfit for service, and I have no doubt that most of them will be lost to the owners.

These, sir, are the plain causes of the protracted journey of the Senecas to their lands. I assure you there has been no unnecessary delay. I charge myself with cruelty, forcing these unfortunate people on at a time when a few days' delay might have prevented some deaths and rendered the sickness of others more light, and have to regret this part of my duty, which, together with the extreme exposure to which I have been subjected, and the sickness consequent upon it, has made the task of removing the Senecas excessively unpleasant to me. It affords me pleasure that the lands given by the government to the Senecas are of the best quality, as it respects water and soil and timber; the streams particularly are the most beautiful I have ever seen—pure and healthy and stored with fish. Their present location, or encampment, is Cow Skin or Elk river, at present called Seneca river, and they manifest a determination to support themselves hereafter by agricultural industry; and I believe that if the government will furnish them with all the necessary means to begin that pursuit, they may be preserved and become a happy and prosperous people. I have the honor to be, with much esteem, your obedient servant,

(Signed) HENRY C. BRISH,
Agent for Senecas.

P. S.—I forgot to mention that we were detained five days in crossing the Missouri at Jefferson City, there being but one boat, which was so small that a wagon could only be taken without the team at a trip, and then the team, making in that way two trips for each wagon and team.

Yours, etc.,

Gen. Wm. Clark,
Supt. Indian Affairs.

H. C. BRISH,
Agent for Senecas.

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August 31, 1832.*1

Sir: When the appointment of superintendent was given me to remove the Senecas of Sandusky, Ohio, to the lands assigned them west of this state, I accepted it with pleasure, as it afforded me an opportunity of aiding in the benevolent policy of removing the Indians to a country better adapted to their habits and necessities, and of providing for those immediately under my charge such comforts upon their journey as they had been accustomed to.

I have discharged the duty assigned me to the best of my ability; and as I have heretofore informed you, the Senecas are upon their lands, comfortably fixed, and pleased with the prospects before them. I am now anxious to return to the comforts of my home, and beg the liberty of offering this through your hands to the Hon. Secretary of War, as a resignation of my appointment as agent for the Senecas of Sandusky.

I have the honor to be, with much esteem, your obedient servant,

(Signed) HENRY C. BRISH,

Gen. Wm. Clark,
Supt. Indian Affairs, St. Louis.

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

*1. Em. Ind., Vol 5, p. 120.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SHELBY COUNTY, MISSOURI.

Bounded on the east by Marion, on the north by Knox, on the west by Macon, and on the south by Monroe, Shelby is the second county west of the Mississippi and the third south of the Iowa line. The county is small in territory, being 24 miles east and west by 20 miles north and south, except at the southwest corner, where it juts south four miles by six east and west, giving an area of 504 square miles.

When first visited by white people, about half of this territory was covered by timber and the remainder was prairie. Some that was prairie then subsequently grew up in timber, caused, doubtless, by the partial protection from fires. The highest and nearest level land was generally in the center of the prairies; nearer the watercourses the ground is more rolling, sometimes slightly hilly. The timber consisted mainly of various kinds of oak, hickory and elm, but along the streams there were also walnut, ash, soft and, sometimes, hard maples, birch, willow, sycamore and other timber growths. On the bottom lands the soil is often very dark; elsewhere in the tree land it is a yellowish clay loam, and on the prairie a dark gray, all of it producing abundant crops when properly tilled. It is, however, pre-eminently a grass country, a paradise for horses, cattle, sheep and hogs. It is said that blue grass had to be introduced here, but it certainly adopted the country, for nowhere in the world does it flourish better than in Northeast Missouri. Forty-five years ago the prairies were mainly unbroken and covered with wild grass, much of it called blue joint, growing from six to ten feet high. As soon, however, as this land was pastured severely it produced blue grass, and now this most excellent pasture food grows everywhere in abundance. Sow a piece of land to timothy and red clover and pasture

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it, and in a few years blue grass and white clover will root out the other growths.

Shelby is a well watered county, abounding in streams. The north fork of Salt River is the largest, meandering across from near the northwest to near the southeast corner of the county; then there are North River and Tiger Fork, a branch of the same, Black, Crooked, Clear and other creeks.

The county was organized by act of the Legislature in 1835 and was named for General and Ex-Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky. The inhabitants then numbered only a few hundred, and here is a list of the names of the heads of seventy of the families:

Geo. Anderson, Josiah Abbott, James Y. Anderson, Thomas J. Bounds, W. B. Broughton, Anthony Blackford, Jas. Blackford, Isaac Blackford, Samuel Bell, Alexander Buford, Silas Boyce, S. Buckner, Thos. H. Clements, W. S. Chinn, Bryant Cochrane, Samuel Cochrane, J. W. Cochrane, C. Christian, Obadiah Dickerson, R. Duncan, Wm. H. Davidson, Levi Dyer, Geo. Eaton, Elisha K. Eaton, John Eaton, Jas. Foley, Benjamin F. Forman, Jesse Gentry, Geo. W. Gentry, Julius C. Gartell, James B. Green, Wm. J. Holliday, Thompson Holliday, E. L. Holliday, Thomas Holeman, Chas. A. Hollyman, Bradford Hunsucker, Wm. B. Hill, Julius C. Jackson, Robt. Joiner, Peter Looney, Oliver Latimer, Michael Law, Russell W. Moss, John H. Milton, W. Moore, Wm. T. Matson (died same year), J. C. Mayes, S. W. Miller, Henry Musgrove, Jno. McAfee, Samuel J. Parker, George Parker, Elijah Pepper, W. H. Payne, Peter Roff, John Ralls, Peter Stice, Montillion H. Smith, Hiram Rookwood, Robert Reed, James Shaw, Cyrus A. Saunders, Henry Saunders, James Swartz, Hill Shaw, John Sparrow, William Sparrow, Major Turner, William S. Townsend, John Thomas, Abraham Vandiver, Dr. Adolphus E. Wood, Nicholas Watkins.

And the following twenty-two men settled in the county within a year after its organization

John Dunn, James Graham, Alexander Gillaspy, Lewis Gillaspy, Stephen Miller, James T. Peake, Samuel Bell,

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John Jacobs, Joseph West, James Ford, William Conner, Robert R. Moffit, Wm. Matson, Elisha Moore, J. T. Tingle, G. H. Edmonds, S. O. Van Vactor, M. J. Priest.

One familiar with the people of this county will recognize a majority of these names among the citizens of the county at this time, more than three-quarters of a century after their ancestors settled here.

It is probable that Maj. Obediah Dickerson, who in October, 1831, built a log house on the banks of Salt River, 3⅓ miles north of where Shelbina now stands, was the first permanent settler. He is said to have been the founder of Palmyra, and it is certain he was the first postmaster there. He carried the office in his hat, and as he went on trips and hunting excursions, delivered the letters from his hat to those to whom they were addressed as he met them, thus instituting the first rural mail delivery.

It is told that one day a man from the frontier came to Palmyra seeking the postoffice, but office and keeper were away. Going in pursuit he found the major, who fished out of his hat half a dozen letters for this man and his neighbors, and also handed out three more, saying: "Take these along with you and see if they belong to any one in your settlement. They have been here two weeks, and I do not know any such names and do not want to be bothered with them longer."

The major was an honored citizen of Shelby county for many years, represented the county in the Legislature, and helped it along in many ways during the pioneer days. His son, John, was three times chosen sheriff and collector of the county, and a number of his grandchildren are now worthy citizens of Shelbina. About the time Maj. Dickerson settled on Salt River, Mrs. Holliday, a widow with seven sons and three daughters, settled on Black Creek, near what is now called Oak Dale. These sons were Richard T., Angus, McDonald, W. J., James M., Elias and Cornelius T. All were prominent citizens. W. J. represented the county, was county clerk and held other important offices. James was for years considered a walking encyclopedia of political

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knowledge, was employed by Congressman Hatch at Washington, but is now a resident of Sixteen, Montana. Children of others still live in the county. The Vandiver family was prominent in the pioneer days, and, at one time, it was said the Vandiver relatives held the balance of power in the county. W. B. Broughton established a store, and afterward a woolen mill, and thus founded Oak Dale. At his house the first courts were held. His son, W. C., lived there for many years, and his grandson, T. J., now owns the old place, and two other grandsons, B. F. and J. L., live in that vicinity. Russell W. Moss was one of the pioneers of special prominence, represented the county in '44 and held other offices. Robert and Addison Lair and John McAfee were prominent men in pioneer days, and some of their descendants are now worthy citizens of the county.

Dr. Adolphus E. Wood was originally a New Yorker, but he came here from Cuba and settled near Oak Dale. Like most men in that day, he had a large family, and some of his children and many of his grandchildren still live in the county; one son, B. O., lives at Monroe City; also one son, Dr. A. G. Wood, living at Lentner, is quite active at 82. Fernando Wood, at one time mayor of New York, was a brother of the doctor.

Joshua M. Ennis was a man of great influence in the early history of the county, though he came after its organization. He was six times elected sheriff and collector, and four times county treasurer. If one seeking office could get "Josh," as he was familiarly called, on his side, he was pretty sure to win. He was a man who always stood by his friends, and was very hospitable and entertained more people than any other man. His children and grandchildren are still prominent in the county.

John F. Benjamin came from Syracuse, New York, in the forties, and settled near Walkersville on a farm, drove an oxteam, but the gold fever took him to California. However, he returned in time to beat John McAfee for the Legis-

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lature in 1850. He studied law and became a strong practitioner. Before the war a Democrat, he became an uncompromising Union man, an officer in the army and was three times elected to Congress as a radical Republican. In 1870 he established at Shelbina the first bank in the county, a national bank, and he was then the wealthiest man in the county. He died in Washington in the spring of 1877.

The Dimmitt family is said to be of French origin, but settled in Maryland at an early day. From there Judge Walter B. came first to Kentucky, then to Marion county in Missouri in 1829, and purchased a large amount of land. His son, Phillip, was born in the Blue Grass State, but was only five when his father settled in Marion county. He studied medicine and practiced in Lewis, Cooper and finally in this county. He raised six sons, five of whom are prominent and respected citizens of the county, three being bankers.

Dr. Anthony Minter was a prominent citizen in the early days, and his nephew, Daniel G. Minter, was prominent up to the time of his death last year. One of his daughters married W. A. Reid, who came from Virginia to Shelbina before the war, and was for years among the foremost business men in the county, and was also prominent in Sunday school and other church work.

There are many more who deserve mention, but lack of space prevents. More of the early settlers came from Kentucky than from any other state. Virginia furnished the next largest number. Some came from Tennessee, some from Maryland, a sprinkling from other southern states and from the north. But during the forties and fifties the number from the north increased, and since the war immigrants from that section have been numerous.

Pioneers here, like those in most all of the country, were a hardy, robust race. In fact, frontier life produces that class of people. There is no place for weaklings among them. Only the strong survive. Their manner of life was simple, compared with that of their descendants. Their houses were built of logs, the cracks filled with split pieces

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plastered with clay. Heat for comfort and cooking was provided in a large fireplace. Some had a little glass in their windows, others did not. Many lived in one room for years, but usually there was an upstairs for sleeping purposes. Where two rooms on the ground were built usually a passageway was left, with a clapboard roof over all. Instead of nails, weights were used to hold the clapboards on. Wooden pins took the place of iron in most places. Floors were made of split logs. These were called puncheon. Furniture was homemade, except what little was brought in the mover wagons from the older states.

From my acquaintance with many of the early settlers and from information gathered during the past forty-five years in the county, my impressions are that there were an unusual number of strong characters among those who founded Shelby county. Perhaps this is true of pioneers everywhere. Weaklings seldom migrate. Then the fact that these men were so much alone gave those inclined to think an opportunity to meditate. As the foundation of a building is the most important part, as all rests upon it, so the character, habits and surroundings of the early settlers of a county should be carefully noted by the historian, since these have much to do in shaping the subsequent history of a community.

For the first 20 years the pioneers settled along the creeks and branches. Few ventured to tackle the prairie, and there was good reason for this. The luxuriant growth of grass made the ground too wet and the sward very hard to break up. Then the flies were so numerous and hungry that neither man nor beast could endure them. It is related that when a settler desired to cross any stretch of prairie in the summer time he went at night to avoid these pests. Then in the timber materials were at hand for buildings, fences and for fuel.

While the life of the pioneers was rough and he had few advantages, he had his pleasures and his virtues, and as a rule he was not destitute of the feelings and promptings of a gentleman. He was kind, generous, hospitable, ready to

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lend a helping hand, not only to neighbors, but as well to strangers. He had few opportunities to learn of the happenings of his own community or the world at large, except through word of mouth, and this one source of information he usually improved. He went long distances to attend gatherings, and thus he obtained information, made acquaintances and had intercourse with his fellows. There were good and bad people then as now, but these qualities were manifested somewhat differently. The use of whiskey was common, and the article was so cheap there was no temptation to adulterate it. It often retailed at ten and fifteen cents per gallon, and few thought it wrong to drink—indeed, many thought it essential to maintain health; yet excess was condemned, though it was not considered as disgraceful to become intoxicated as now. The principles of honor and honesty were dwelt upon as worthy of the greatest consideration. Finery and luxuries were scorned.

To build a farm in the timber is necessarily a slow and laborious process, and especially was this the case with the poor equipment of the pioneers days. With the exception of the axe, there is scarcely a tool which has not been greatly improved in the past sixty years. Farmers now would think it impossible to make a crop with only a crooked stick or even an iron point with a wooden mould board to stir the ground. Yet the pioneer with such plows raised good crops, though they tilled few acres, compared to the present. Corn was then raised largely for bread; some, however, was fed to the work horses. But oxen were chiefly used on the farm, and these lived on the wild grass and the prairie hay. Hogs grew and fattened on acorns and other nuts called mast. But constant watch was necessary to protect the pigs from wolves and other wild animals. Produce brought little money, and the people needed little, as nearly all they used they produced themselves. The men generally wore buckskin trousers and jackets made of the skins of animals. They made moccasins, but usually went barefooted in summer, as did the women except on dress occasions.

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In those days there was little complaint of heat or drouths injuring the crops, but we hear of cold winters and early frosts. It is related that about the middle of May, 1835, there was winter weather freezing the ground to considerable depth, and on the 16th of September of that year a killing frost cut the corn crop short. Chinch bugs first became destructive about 1842, and their last appearance in great numbers was in 1881.

From the organization of the county, in 1835, population rapidly increased, so that the census in 1850 showed 3,744 whites, 498 slaves and 11 free colored persons, and the census of 1860 showed 6,565 whites, 724 slaves and 12 free colored persons.

In the history of a people an account of schools, churches, lodges and other organizations of society should have a prominent place, but in this sketch space is so limited room can be found only for the most general mention of these important things. Though the pioneers had few school opportunities, they were generally alive to the advantages of education, and as soon as a few families settled in a neighborhood a log schoolhouse was built and a teacher employed for a few months each year. There was no public school system then. Before the war a high school of much reputation was established at Shelbyville. At one time Prof. Chas Johnson, remembered by many people in this county, had charge of this school.

Unselfish men came among the pioneers seeking "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Though they were not learned in the books, they were often fluent and interesting talkers, sometimes really eloquent. They preached in the cabins of the settlers and in the schoolhouses, after these were built. It mattered little to what denomination they belonged, they gathered congregations and laid the foundations for the various churches which now supply the people of the county with places for worship. From these rude beginnings have grown our present school and church systems, our elegant church buildings and school-

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houses. There are now in the county about eighty schools, some of the high schools being of first rank, and more than forty church buildings.

In intelligence and thrift the people of Shelby will compare favorably with the inhabitants of any section of the country, and in morality they are equal to the best. There has not been a saloon in the county for 30 years, and lawsuits are so few that members of the bar seek other occupations. There never has been much crime as compared with other communities.

Lack of space compels the omission of all accounts of the courts, lawyers, offenses against the law, operations during the Civil War, political contests, the establishment of newspapers and many other interesting things connected with the history of the county. However, a sketch would not be complete without mentioning Bethel, the communistic colony established by Dr. Wm. Keil about 1844. A large tract of land was bought and farms, mills and factories were established. All worked under the direction of the leader, and their wants were supplied from a common store house. There were no drones in this hive, but all labored for the common good. It was one of the most successful experiments ever undertaken along this line. For thirty years peace and plenty abounded. It was finally dissolved and the accumulated property divided with little friction.

Eighty-three years ago the territory now comprising Shelby county was without human inhabitants. The land was covered with primeval forests and prairie grass about half each. The deer, wolf, bear, panther, turkey, prairie chicken, quail, beasts and reptiles wandered about unalarmed by the presence of man. There was not a road, a house or an acre of tilled land. See what civilized man has done! Now there are about 500 miles of laid-out roads. Upon some of this little work has been bestowed, and but a small part is really good except in dry weather. Now there are thousands of pleasant homes, some of them really delightful. Nearly every acre of land is more or less utilized,

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though much more might be produced if the land were more thoroughly cultivated. There are three cities, three incorporated towns and several villages. A trip over the county will disclose many charming spots, many highly improved farms and many evidences of culture, taste and refinement. As a rule, the houses and barns show thrift and comfort. Here nearly seventeen thousand people dwell in safety and peace, surrounded with an abundance of the necessaries of life and many encouragements to mental development and moral and spiritual uplift. These people are not an unworthy part of this great and growing republic of which we are all so proud. Shelby will measure up fairly well with the most favored sections of this favored land.

Prior to the war the county had usually chosen democratic officials, and in the fifties it was anti-Benton. But during the civil conflict the large majority of the people were uncompromisingly for the Union. Probably the decided stand taken by such leaders as John F. Benjamin, Joseph Irwin, Alexander McMurtry, Wm. J. Holliday and James M. Collier, nearly all of them being southern men by birth, had much to do in keeping the people so loyal to the Union.

In 1860 there were but 724 slaves in the county, and some who owned negroes were the strongest opponents of secession. Those who lived in the north never could fully comprehend the real situation in the south on the subject of slavery; and many who have grown up here since the war do not understand how good people could own and work slaves. But two hundred years ago few people thought it wrong to bring the uncivilized African to this continent and hold him in bondage. In the border states like Missouri people who owned slaves usually inherited them—few bought. It was an institution handed down from generation to generation, and the owner could hardly do otherwise than hold the negro as a chattel. Free colored men were in disfavor, and they had a harder time than those in bondage. Emancipation was not favored, as it was considered dangerous to have a body of free colored people in any community. Therefore

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those who were really opposed to this peculiar institution and hoped it would die out felt constrained to simply hold on as the best which could be done for the negro. In this State, and probably generally in other states, most of the negroes were humanely treated, and the colored servant became greatly attached to his master and mistress.

Neither did the South understand the people of the free states, and the abuse of the slaveholder was of course resented. This abuse, however, came from the few, and many of the most abusing had been raised in slave-holding states.

W. O. L. JEWETT.

BOOK NOTICES.

Earmarks of Literature. The things that make good books good. By **Arthur E. Bostwick**, Ph. D., Librarian St. Louis Public Library. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1914.

The Society is pleased to have a copy of the above work. It opens with a chapter on the nature of literature, studies of grammatical form, clearness, appropriateness and character of style following. The structure, appreciation, preservation and ownership of literature; the makers of literature and other matters are treated in readable and compact form. 12mo., 90 cents, net.

The Invincible. A Magazine of History. Edited by **Anita Calvert Bourgoise**. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-4, April-October, 1913, St. Louis. This new magazine, in addition to its history feature is also largely genealogical and the numbers that have been issued are of special interest to the Thornton and Strother families, and to those whose families date back to dormant, forfeited and extinct peerages of Great Britain. Other numbers will doubtless be of similar interest.

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Christopher Columbus. Address of **Hon. B. B. Cahoon, Sr.,** before the Knights of Columbus at Fredericktown, Mo., Oct. 12, 1913. n. p. n. d.

The address was published and distributed by the Knights of Columbus, and it was dedicated to Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, with an explanation of how it came that the author was not controlled by prejudices against the Catholics. On July 4, 1857, an Irish Catholic boy working for a firm to which his father belonged was mortally wounded, and his friends were anxious for him to have the ministrations of a priest. Mr. Cahoon's father—tho it was at the time of very strong Know Nothing prejudices against the Catholics—sent to a distance for a priest and entertained him at his home, saying that he refused to enjoy his religion and deny others the right to enjoy theirs.

Facts, Fancies, Fun and Poems. A book of original poems together with translations from the German and Latin, by **John Fleming Cowan,** D. D.

We find in our catalogs of Westminster College as far back as 1858 at least, that Rev. John F. Cowan was one of the trustees of the College and at that time living at Carondelet. In later years he became the secretary of the board and a resident of Fulton. A few years ago the Society received from him a published book of poems by him, and now the above, which is in typewriting and making a book of 225 pages.

When Frank W. Sneed became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Columbia in 1888, Rev. Mr. Cowan preached the installation sermon, and at that time it was stated that he had been a pastor for forty years.

The Society is pleased to add this book of poems to its Missouri Author Collection.

The Louisiana-Texas Frontier, by **Isaac Joslin Cox.** Reprint from **The Quarterly** of the Southwestern Historical Association, July-October, 1913.

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Thomas Sloo, Jr. A typical politician of early Illinois, by **Isaac J. Cox.** Reprint from Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1911.

Professor Cox of the University of Cincinnati is one of the most active of the historical workers of the west, and both above papers show the thoroughness of his work. The first paper is the second part on the same subject, and is of 187 pages, with full references to publications and documents. It is a valuable publication relating to the Louisiana Purchase.

The Third Diamond. By **John Breckenridge Ellis,** author of Fran. Yost. (C. 1913.)

Lahoma, by **John Breckenridge Ellis,** author of Fran. With illustrations by W. B. King. Indianapolis. (C. 1913.)

The Little Fiddler of the Ozarks. A novel. By **John Breckenridge Ellis,** author of Fran. Chicago. (C. 1913.)

We have from the author, a native Missouri writer, his last three books. Naturally, they refer to his "Fran", which was the tenth best selling book in America during 1912. The Third Diamond is left in trust with a merchant, and it is found adorning the arm of his wife, tho he did not put it there. The man who left the diamond in trust comes back and finds it.

In the second a girl, reared on the western frontier, is sent from her mountain cabin to a great city to learn its ways, and becomes a fascinating woman with a love story. The scene of this is Oklahoma, but several chapters are staged in Kansas City and the Ozarks. The Third Diamond is a Missouri story, and the last is partly placed in Missouri.

Chronicles of the Civil War in Monroe County, by B. C. M. Farthing and **T. V. Bodine.** n. p. n. d.

The above is a valuable addition to the rather scanty history of the Civil war period of Missouri. The time is fast passing when such accounts can be written, as the participants of that period are becoming fewer each year.

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Cold New Years, January 1, 1864. A tale of the Civil War, by **J. West Goodwin**, Company I, 62nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Sedalia, 1914.

In the above Col. Goodwin tells his personal experience in camp in Kentucky when the thermometer fell fifty-six degrees in twelve hours, causing suffering and death to soldiers.

Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Mississippi, "premiere partie," June 7, 1794—March 26, 1795. Reprint from the American Historical Review, January 1, 1914.

This journal is in French, and was discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain, only lately, tho the Part II of the journal was known, and is preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State at Washington.

Truteau, whose name is sometimes given as Trudeau, was born in Montreal in 1748, and was related to Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis, 1792—1799. Coming to St. Louis in 1774 he became the first schoolmaster of the village, and died there in 1829. He was chosen to take charge of the expedition to the Mandan villages and while on it he kept a journal with a daily record of events, and this publication is of the trip from St. Louis up the Missouri river to the western present limits of Missouri and beyond.

Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Missouri Press Association, at Kansas City, 1913, Springfield, n. d.

The proceedings of the first annual meeting of the above association was a modest pamphlet of 121 pages; the above is a bound book of 329 pages, with seven page plates. The set of proceedings in the library of the State Historical Society is complete except for 1893 and 1902. Donations of these are requested.

Poems, Estelle Johnson Rule (Mrs. Virgil Rule). Nixon-Jones Printing Company, St. Louis, Mo., 1913.

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"Do you believe in Fairies?" "The Fairies' Ball" and other pleasing poems make a neat volume, and the Society is under obligations to the authoress for an autograph copy.

The Story of Old St. Louis, by **Thomas Edwin Spencer.** Prepared for the information of persons who expect to witness the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis in Forest Park, St. Louis, 1914. St. Louis, [1914].

Preparations are being made on a magnificent scale to depict in pageant and masque the history of St. Louis during the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city next May, when the history of the city will be presented in a dramatic form on a scale never before attempted on a similar occasion. This booklet is intended to prepare its readers for a thorough understanding of the scenes that will be presented at the celebration. It has been prepared by Mr. Spencer, the principal of one of the public schools of St. Louis, is a native of Missouri, born in Columbia, Boone county, and has been ably assisted in his work by Judge Walter B. Douglas and William Clark Breckenridge, the latter of whom is one of the most active of the trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and has one of the best libraries of "Missouriana" in the State. Later a more extensive history will be prepared by Mr. Spencer.

The Great River. Poems and Pictures. By **Frederick Oakes Sylvester.** Chicago, 1911.

A magnificently bound autograph copy of the above has been presented to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Meston of St. Louis. The flyleaf contains a six verse original poem on "History" signed by Mr. Sylvester, and the book contains an original signed water color by him. There are many platinum photographs of paintings by Mr. Sylvester, one of which, "The Stream of the Ancient Arrow Makers," hangs in the corridor of the Academic Building of the State University of Missouri. There were only 100 copies printed, and the Society is under many obligations to Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Meston of St. Louis for a copy.

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A Legislation Program to Restore Business Freedom and Confidence. An address by **Samuel Untermyer** of New York. n. p. n. d.

This address was delivered before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at Chicago, and whether the reader agrees with all of the conclusions of Mr. Untermyer or not, the paper is a valuable one and from an able man.

Virginia Under the Stuarts. 1607-1688. By **Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Ph. D.** Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1914.

In 1607, after a voyage of more than four months, three small vessels with a party of colonists reached the shores of Virginia, and ascending the James river to lessen the danger of an attack by the Spaniards, they selected a spot and founded Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement of the New World.

The author of the above work, following the line of the many investigators of the present time, has delved into legislative journals, letters, reports and other manuscript, with close examination of conclusions of earlier writers, and these efforts have brought out new light and necessitated new conclusions. The defects of the plan of government for the London Company granted by James I were a continual source of difficulties, the civil contest in England, the overthrow of the King, the hostility of the Virginia government to Parliament, all contributed to dearth of material to be now studied in making out the correct history of the time covered by this work. It will be welcomed by all who may be interested in the history of Virginia, and may be had of the publisher for one dollar and a half.

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NOTES.

Historical Data of Bench and Bar of Missouri.—At the meeting of the Missouri Bar Association in September, 1913, the committee on historical data of the bench and bar of the State, among other things reported:

"The library of the State Historical Society at Columbia, Missouri, has in it a mass of material covering biographical matter, including reference to members of the bench and bar of the State. It is altogether a rich collection."

A Good County History. Many county histories have been published purely as money-making schemes, an effort being made to have every one whose biographical sketch is included to subscribe for a copy of the work and possibly pay a large price to have his picture inserted. The general history of the county was merely used as the excuse for publishing the biographies, and usually was written by some employee of the publisher from data hastily gathered up by him. The popular designation of these histories was "Herd books," showing the popular impression of them.

The later county histories, while having very much the same financial aims as the earlier ones, are of a distinctly higher class, and the historical part is printed under the name and by the labor of some person living in the county and acquainted with its history.

In the late "History of Northeast Missouri," the history of Callaway county deserves special commendation. It bears evidence of having been written for a true and correct history, and the foot notes give ample authority for all statements made. It should be taken as a model by other writers of history. It was written by Ovid Bell of Fulton.

The Residence of Mrs. C. L. Vance, widow of a collector of relics, at Joliet, Ill., was lately burned, destroying among other things a bible more than 650 years old. Valuable relics should be in fire-proof buildings.

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Sometime ago the women of one of the churches in Fulton got from the Insane Asylum there four wagon loads of newspapers, pamphlets, etc. The church women must be considered as one of the agencies for destroying valuable publications.

The Krefeld Society has been organized to honer the lives and deeds of the First Settlers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and for securing and preserving information concerning them or their descendants. This was the first permanent settlement made in North America by German subjects, and was made October 25, 1683. There were thirteen heads of families under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius. Any of their descendants can address the Secretary, Dr. J. E. Buckenham, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

The Independent. Missouri University. The Historical Society on checking up "The Independent," and the "M. S. U. Independent," finds that the ninth volume, 1901-1902 is missing. It is possible that some one has borrowed it and forgotton to return it. In the meantime, the Society asks donations of any of the numbers of that volume. It is now about to send to the bindery the 16th and 17th volumes, and four numbers of these volumes are missing. Donations of single numbers of these volumes are also asked.

The Last General Assembly of Illinois created a commission for the purpose of having plans drawn for a building for the use of the State Historical Library, the State Historical Society, the Natural History Museum, the State Superintendent of Public Schools and allied interests.

The commission is composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, President of Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library, the President of the State Historical Society, the Auditor of Public Accounts and Department Commander of the G. A. R.

The Commission will report to the next General Assembly.

November 5th, 1913, the office of the Atchison County Journal was destroyed by fire, and the files of the paper were burned. It may be a benefit in a hundred cases that the

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Society has a file from 1879 to the time of the fire, and it will be glad to give the benefit of them to the publishers and others who may need them.

CEMETARY RECORDS.

The Review has contained thirteen papers of copies of Cemetery inscriptions in various towns of Missouri. The data thus preserved will in the future be of value in genealogical and other investigations, and the editor has been disappointed because his work in this line does not seem to have pleased the Society, or interested the readers of its quarterly. Knowing that eastern historical societies look upon this work as of much value, he has at his individual expense procured about 1402 records from 15 cemeteries, but not a member during the thirteen quarters of publication has given a word of approval, and the local newspapers of the places of the cemeteries recorded have not made even a three-line item about the publication. Under the circumstances the editor does not feel like continuing the work. If, however, enough persons will take up the work, and will copy the records of cemeteries, the publication of such lists may be resumed again, and for commendation, the editor will await that which time is sure to bring.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY JOURNALS.

Some have an idea that there is nothing in the journals of the legislature of any interest, but often an item is found that is of interest to the most casual reader—what would be thought now of the Democrat who should be elected Speaker *pro tem.* and who would resign in favor of a Republican? Now look in the Journal of the House of Representatives in 1861, and see this communication from Nat. Claiborne:

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"Jefferson City, January 5, 1861.

To the Hon. John B. McAfee, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Missouri:

Dear Sir: Satisfied that the appointment of Speaker *pro tem.* of this House, as a matter of courtesy, should be given by the party in the majority to some member of the opposition, I would respectfully tender, through you to the House, my resignation of that office.

Yours with great respect,

N. C. CLAIBORNE."

The resignation was accepted and on motion of Mr. Claiborne, Marcus Boyd of Greene County was elected without an opposing vote.

NECROLOGY.

Bishop Thomas Bowman was born in Berwick, Pennsylvania, July 15, 1817, and after studying law under Judge Jeremiah Black of Pennsylvania, he turned to the Ministry, his first pastorate being in 1837. He was well known as an educator, before becoming a bishop, having been president of Dickenson Seminary in Pennsylvania, and for fourteen years president of Asbury College at Greencastle, Indiana, now DePauw University. He was elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1872, and actively held Conferences in this country and Europe till 1898, when he retired from active work. In 1864-65 he was Chaplain of the United State Senate when Lincoln was President. He died at Orange, New Jersey, at the home of a daughter, Mrs. B. B. Caldwell, and was buried at Greencastle, Indiana.

Judge Samuel R. Crockett, a pioneer of Vernon county, Missouri, was born at Frankfort, Kentucky, May 15, 1831, and came to Missouri when a young man. He was married September 11, 1862, in Cooper county, and ten children by that union are now living. In 1868 he moved to Vernon

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county, and in 1870 was elected circuit clerk. In 1875 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of Missouri. Afterwards, for a time, he resided in Texas, and on returning to Missouri was a resident of Cedar county, and for several years was the Probate Judge there.

He died at Nevada November 11, 1913.

Hon. Jacob F. Gmelich was born at Wurtemberg, Germany, July 23, 1839, came to the United States in 1852, and to Missouri in 1858, and resided in Boonville till 1909. He was a member of the General Assembly from Cooper county in 1895, was twice the nominee of the Republican party for State Treasurer, and was elected to that office in 1904. Four years afterward he was elected Lieutenant-Governor under Governor Hadley. During a serious sickness he went from Jefferson City to his former home at Boonville, and died there February 21, 1914.

Dr. E. S. Holden, astronomer, scientist, educator and librarian died at West Point, March 16, 1914, where he had been librarian since 1902, and where he had graduated in 1870. He had been president of the University of California, and for ten years after that was director of the Lick Observatory. He was the author of quite a number of books, mostly astronomical, and these had brought him recognition and honors from various countries. He was born about 68 years ago in St. Louis and married Miss Mary Chouvenet of that city.

George Washington Martin, next to Reuben Gold Thwaites was the best known Secretary of the Historical Societies of the Country, and did not long survive him. He was born at Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1841, and there began his printing and newspaper work. In 1857 he went to Kansas, and from that time became a part of the history of Kansas. He held many positions of trust and responsibility—postmaster of Junction City, register of the land office, assistant assessor of internal revenue, mayor of Junction City, member of the legislature, state printer, grand

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master of the Odd Fellows, and for fifteen years the efficient Secretary of the State Historical Society. He was present at every session of the legislature from the territorial of 1857 to the present, except that of 1861. On his 72nd birthday he was presented a bound volume containing birthday letters from 250 friends. Like Mr. Thwaites he made his historical society well known, and the possessor of a wonderful collection of valuable historical data, and especially full and complete of the State of Kansas. Col. Martin died March 27, 1914, leaving, perhaps, more personal friends than any other Kansan has had, and a host of friends outside of the State.

Hon. Arthur Phillips Murphy, generally known as "Pat" Murphy, son of Judge W. H. Murphy, was born at Hancock, Missouri, December 19, 1870. He attended the School of Mines at Rolla, and later was admitted to the bar. In 1902 President Roosevelt appointed him attorney for the Creek Nation, and in 1904 he returned to Missouri, and was elected on the Republican ticket to Congress. His opponent then defeated him in 1906, but he was successful again in 1908, and was defeated by Rubey in 1910. He was a candidate for nomination for Governor in 1912, but was defeated by McKinley. He was a member of the Methodist Church, a Knight Templar and Scottish Rite Mason. He died suddenly February 1, 1914 at Rolla.

Hon. R. Steel Ryors died at Linn, Missouri, February 8, 1914. He was elected State Senator four times from the 21st district, 1885 to 1893, and later was judge of the Circuit Court.

Hon. E. O. Stanard was born at Newport, New Hampshire, January 5, 1832, and came west with his parents five years later. The most of his life he was in the milling business, living in St. Louis. In November, 1868 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri, and in 1873 elected to Congress from St. Louis. He was a member of the Indianapolis Monetary Conference in 1897-98; president of

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the Merchants' Exchange in 1868 and served on the directories of the Boatmen's Bank and the St. Louis Union Trust Company. He died suddenly March 10, 1914, in St. Louis.

Hon. Hervey Henry Willsie was born at Burr Oak, Iowa, June 25, 1855, and at the age of fifteen with his parents moved to Atchison County, Missouri, and in 1899 moved to Tarkio, where he died January 8, 1914. He was elected a member of the Forty-first General Assembly of Missouri in 1901, and reelected in 1903. He also served as Judge of the County Court, and was one of the leading business men of the county.

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VOL. VIII. JULY, 1914. NO. 4.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
Editor.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $1.00 PER YEAR.
ISSUED QUARTERLY.

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER AT COLUMBIA, MO., JULY 18, 1907.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

EDITOR

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

Committee on Publication:

JONAS VILES, ISIDOR LOEB, F. A. SAMPSON.

VOL. VIII. JULY, 1914. NO. 4.

CONTENTS.

Major Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of a Journey to Santa Fe, 1828, by F. F. Stephens 177

Echoes of Indian Emigration, Third Paper, by David W. Eaton 198

A Running Glance Over the Field of Music in Missouri, by Mrs. Susan A. Arnold McCausland 206

An Old Missouri Town, Napton, Saline County, by Rollins Bingham 211

Hon. David Barton, by Capt. Saml. W. Ravenel 216

Mormon Troubles in Carroll County, by Susan H. Whiteman 220

The First Soldier Paper, by Edgar White 223

From Senator Doolittle's Papers, by Duane Mowry 227

Notes 230

Book Notices 237

Necrology 243

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MISSOURI
HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 8. July, 1914. No. 4.

MAJOR ALPHONSO WETMORE'S DIARY OF A JOURNEY TO SANTA FE, 1828.

Alphonso Wetmore (1), like several other of our noteworthy early settlers, first became interested in the Territory of Missouri as an official of the National Government, and when he later resigned his office he remained in the new State and became one of its influential citizens.

Born in 1793, he was not yet twenty years of age when the second war with England commenced. He entered the national service at that time and lost his right arm in one of the northern frontier campaigns. He was retained in the service of the United States Army, however, after the war, and was stationed in the Territory of Missouri, being paymaster in the Sixth Regiment, United States Infantry. After leaving the army service some years later, he settled on the extreme frontier, in the Boone's Lick country, where he became a merchant, lawyer, and author. He was one of the original trustees of New Franklin when it was incorporated in 1833, (the former town of Franklin having been destroyed by the Missouri river.)

1. For notes on the life of Wetmore, see the following:
F. L. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821, p. 96.
A. Wetmore, Gazeteer of Missouri, preface.
Missouri Statesman, June 22, 1849 (gives obituary notice).
J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis, Vol. II, p. 1615.
R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. XXVI, p. 31.

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Soon after 1833, he seems to have moved to St. Louis, where in 1837 he compiled and published the first Gazeteer of Missouri. For the next twelve years, Wetmore was engaged in the practice of law, and in writing for various periodicals. In the summer of 1849, a terrible visitation of the cholera spread over the Mississippi Valley, and claimed Wetmore as one of its victims, June 13, 1849.

It was when Franklin was the starting point for the "inland trade," and while Major Wetmore was one of its residents, that he became interested in the Santa Fe overland commerce. Various communications from his pen, in regard to the traffic, written either directly for the press or sent to prominent officials from whom it found its way into the papers, appeared from time to time in the Missouri Intelligencer, the famous Boone's Lick country pioneer newspaper. The following history of the trade, however, was written in response to an inquiry from Lewis Cass, Secretary of War in President Jackson's cabinet, and together with the "Diary," appeared as a part of Senate Document 90, 22nd Congress, First Session.

The Missouri Legislature petitioned Congress with more or less regularity for nearly twenty years for aid in carrying on the Santa Fe trade, and particularly for a rebate on foreign goods imported into the United States before being exported to New Mexico. Occasionally one branch or the other of Congress became interested enough to ask the President for more information as to the trade. In this instance, Secretary Cass was collecting information in response to a resolution of the Senate.

F. F. STEPHENS.

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LETTER AND DIARY.

FRANKLIN, MISSOURI, October 11, 1831.

SIR: In reply to the queries transmitted under cover of your letter of the 9th ultimo, I have the honor to submit the following history of our trade to Mexico.

Early in the summer of 1821, several citizens of Boonlick made a small outfit at this place, and departed with the avowed purpose of visiting the settlements of New Mexico. The enterprise was at the time, deemed one of infinite peril; and the pecuniary venture was accordingly limited in amount; and the articles of merchandise comprised in it, were suited either to Mexican or Indian taste. In the event of failure to reach the point of destination, it was a part of the plan of the adventurous party to remunerate themselves with the capture of wild horses, or, in the manly and animating sport of the buffalo chase; they returned the same season. In the spring of 1822, an increased number of adventurers packed on mules a small amount of merchandise (valued at $3,000) at this place, with the purpose of making a farther experiment in the Santa Fe trade. In pursuing the route, in their judgment the most direct, they fell upon a sandy desert beyond the Arkansas, where they suffered infinitely from thirst, for more than forty hours. They continued their route and were remunerated for their toil and perils with a profit of about two thousand per cent. Encouraged by this essay, in 1823, the trade assumed a more settled and regular character.

An additional number of respectable citizens, with increased capital, engaged in it, and wagons were employed this year, for the first time, in the transportation of merchandise. This company, too, suffered extremely in the passage of the great *Jornada*, or day's journey, from one watering place to another, beyond the Arkansas river. A safer route across the sands has been since traced out, and is now pursued

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with little or no inconvenience. The experiment of this year, gave encouragement for an increase of the trade, which has been progressive ever since; and its importance induced Congress to appropriate $30,000 for laying out and making the route. This task had been previously performed by the traders themselves; and no advantage was derived from the expenditure of the money in the summer of 1824. The protection subsequently afforded in 1829 by the troops, is matter of record in the War Department. The whole number of lives lost in the Mexican trade up to this year, is eight souls, to which we may add two of the fur traders, who fell on or near the trace, while the caravan of this year, which has just arrived, was returning. In 1827, the robberies on the Santa Fe trace amounted to 130 head of stock; and, in 1828, the loss was estimated at 825 head of animals of all kinds. Since that year, the losses have been so inconsiderable, that no mention is made of the particulars. The Camanches and Panis are chargeable with these frays. In 1821, the caravan consisted of 21 men, and their merchandise was valued at $3,000. The caravan of last spring numbered 260 men, with 135 wagons, and merchandise to the amount of $270,000. Autumn is not the most favorable season for going through the unsettled tract of country of 800 miles, although it has been several times successfully attempted. A small company went out this fall. The dangers that are encountered in this trade, consist in the hostile operations against the caravans, of the Panis, Chians, Comanches, Kiawas and Arrapaho Indians, all of whom hunt in and claim the country through which the Mexican road leads.

The Blackfeet Indians have this year, for the first time, made their appearance in great force on the trace.

To insure the safety of the caravans it is the custom of the traders, on reaching the rendezvous on the western boundary of Missouri, to elect a caravan bachi, and other officers, who are invested with such authority as may be voluntarily conceded from day to day, or such as they may have the address to enforce. This is greater or less, as the dangers increase

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or diminish. When on the march, as night approaches, the wagons are thrown into a square, and made to resemble, with much aid of the imagination, a camp fortified by the Roman legions. Guards are always set, and these watch or sleep, as their interest or love of repose may predominate. The capital employed in the trade this year, is about three hundred thousand dollars. The outfits consists [sic] of wagons, mule and ox teams. The arms carried, are generally rifles and pistols, with a light piece of artillery to each caravan. A small supply of provisions is laid in to subsist the company until they reach the buffalo country, where an abundance is always procured by hunting during the march. The returns consist of bullion, Mexican dollars, fine gold, beaver, and horses, mules, and asses. One hundred packs of beaver are embraced in this year's return. The time of departure from the rendezvous on our border, is settled at or about the middle of May, when the prairie grass is sufficiently advanced to forage the teams, and the return caravans reach the same point from the 1st to the 10th of October. The time employed in going, in effecting sales, and in returning, is less than five months.

Those traders who bring their operations within the compass of one season, never penetrate the settlements more than one hundred miles, visiting the towns of Santa Fe and Toas, and some small Pueblos, and Banchos, on Rio Del Norte. Those who remain in the country, extend their operations throughout the State of Senora and as far south as some of the most considerable towns of the State of Chihuahua, (Chiquaqua,) including the city of that name.

When any of these traders may have completed their sales at a season unfavorable for their return by the interior routes, they proceed to the port of Brazos Santiago, near the mouth of Rio del Norte, or Rio Grand, (as it is there called) and return to the United States in one of the New Orleans packets. They likewise travel home through Texas. Thus it is the practice to perform the whole route from Franklin, in Missouri, with wagons, and the same mule team, to the gulf

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of Mexico, a distance by the coach road of three thousand miles. There is a good coach road from Santa Fe through El Pasos, Chihuahua, El Bayo, Mapomis, Paras, Saltillio, and Monteroy, to Matamoras, the business town for the port of Brazos Santiago. It will be perceived that there is some connection subsisting between the Mexican (interior) and the fur trade. American mountain companies are annually fitted out at Santa Fe, and at Toas, after the arrival of the caravans at these towns; and our traders take into account this branch of business in laying in their goods. In responding to the inquiry "what are the facilities or impediments offered by the Mexican Government," we are led to the most interesting point to which this communication tends. There are no facilities afforded the merchants of the United States who trade to Mexico by the interior route. But great impediments have been always thrown in the way of this class of our citizens, who have, by their risks and daring enterprise, deserved much indulgence. The Mexican Government has always given a preference, strongly marked, to their own merchants. This cannot be objected to. But facilities are afforded to the merchants of Great Britain and France, that are denied to those of the United States. The most grievous exactions have been imposed on our merchants latterly in the form of a per diem tax, for keeping open retailing shops; and an arrival duty of ten dollars on each cargo, or mule load of merchandise, has been collected. State and federal enactments have sometimes conflicted, and these have tended to enhance the impositions.

The suggestion for a remedy for these evils cannot, I presume, with propriety, come within the compass of this communication. But, the merchants of the United States, trading to Mexico, by the interior, if allowed the advantage of debenture, will, on entering the market, be placed on an equal footing with those of all nations trading through the sea ports. With this change the interior trade would assume an importance, which it has never claimed; and it would,

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probably, advance to several millions per annum. It might then be extended as far south as the city of Durango.

A heavy duty is now collected in our ports on many of the leading articles of the Mexican trade, to which the Mexican duty is added before the goods are offered in market. The articles of foreign manufacture chiefly in demand, and which are not contraband, in the states of Chihuahua, and Senora, and province of New Mexico, are French calico and cotton shawls, English calico, brown and bleached cotton shirtings, and cotton hose, India black silk handkerchiefs, and German linens. If it is in contemplation to do anything for this trade, it is only necessary to allow drawback on all merchandise imported into the United States for the Mexican market, and actually exported by the interior, and our caravans will be strong enough for self defence.

With all the disadvantages which have been encountered, this trade has continued to increase steadily for a period of nine years, and the circulating medium of Missouri now consists principally of Mexican dollars. Many of our citizens are profitably engaged in the trade; horses, mules, and oxen, are employed in carrying it on; the farmers and mechanics derive advantage from the outfits, and our whole community is benefitted by this interesting traffic. It has been remarked that the Government of Mexico evinces an unfriendly disposition towards the citizens of this country engaged in the trade; yet, in the personal intercourse I have had with the Mexicans in their own country, I find nothing to justify a belief that they entertain any but the most friendly, if not kindred feelings, for their republican friends of the north.

The commercial regulations of which we have a right to complain, have been always effected by the deep laid schemes of the English merchants resident in that country. They, too, may have retarded the negotiation of our commercial treaty with Mexico, and its ratification by that Government. The unsettled state of the Mexican Government gives encouragement, and insures success to the machi-

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nations of crafty men, who, perhaps, address themselves, on some occasions, to irresponsible and corrupt officers.

The accompanying letter from a respectable merchant in Chihuahua is offered for the information of the War Department; but it would, perhaps, be impolitic to publish its contents.

With the existence of the kind feelings which the people and the Government of this country entertain towards the Mexicans, there can be no occasion for a hint, which, at this moment, occurs to me, but adopting the doctrine which may be applicable, if our just expectations are not realized, that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," it may not be amiss to observe, that a field or battering train would encounter little or no obstruction between the place where I write and the city of Mexico. The provisional government of New Mexico has sometimes facilitated the operations of our traders; and, in 1829, furnished the return caravan with an escort commanded by Colonel Biscarara, a very distinguished officer of the Mexican army.

The following extract from a diary which I kept while traveling from Missouri to New Mexico, may not be inappropriate, and it is accordingly offered for your perusal. In the memoranda made while pursuing my route from Santa Fe to the mouth of the Rio Grande, I find nothing that relates to the subjects embraced in your inquiries, which I have not already noted or alluded to, and the extracts, therefore, end on reaching the former place.

DIARY.

May 28, 1828. Reached the Blue Spring, the rendezvous of the Mexican traders, in season to attend to the election of officers; *ourself* elected captain of the host. "There may be some honor in it," as the deacon remarked on his own promotion, "but not much profit." 29th. In preparation for departure, inspection of arms, fixing ammunition. 30th. The caravan moved at 7 o'clock, a. m. made 16 miles, and encamped early. Formed our wagons into an

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oblong square, and set a horse guard. 31st. Made ten miles at noon, halted, and prepared for the approaching storm; after dinner, the rain commenced, and continued until sunset.

June 1. (Sunday), a tempest just as we were ready to set forward, the mules disengaged from the wagons in haste, and *double reefs* taken in the wagon covers. All hands employed in detaining the mules, who are disposed to take leave of *nos amigos*. At 9 o'clock under way, reached the 'Big Blue,' all our spades in requisition to make the descent into the river practicable; the wagons eased down the bank by 20 men at a trail rope; encamped in the prairie beyond the river; met here two bee hunters; one of our hunters brought in a deer in the red, and lean of course; one prairie fly discovered today, alarming; my Mexican servant furnished with a gun, proud as Franklin was with his whistle. This character is today mounted on the *verbatim* copy of old Rosinante, caparisoned in character.

June 2. Set off early, and marched 14 miles, and encamped at the Round Grove.

3d. Our route today lies over a fine prairie country, timber at a distance on our right, and a little on our left; encamped at 20 miles distance from last night's camp, at a point of timber opposite Bel Mont. Found today a swarm of bees in our path.

4th. Moving smoothly forward, met an Indian moccasin track; encamped at a little grove on the left of the trace. Made 18 miles.

5th. The road today fine and the country beautiful; nothing wanting but timber; two irregular hills on our right, passed over corn hill, encamped on the right of the trace, one mile from timber. March of the day estimated at 18 miles.

6th. At 5 miles reached Elk creek, where we discovered the corpse of a wagon which had been left by the preceding caravan. O Temperance! O Ditch Water! Crossed Mari De Signe. Made 16 miles.

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7th. At ten o'clock reached Rock creek, 8 miles; ate strawberries and caught fish; crossed two other small creeks, and, at 6 o'clock, encamped, after completing 18 miles.

8th. (Sunday). Passed three or four rocky fords, and over a thin rocky soil; rolling ground; took our siesta at an old Indian camp; picked up a soft-shelled turtle; saw fresh Indian signs. Made 18 miles.

9th. At 2 o'clock, a. m., thunder, lightning, and rain; in motion at ten o'clock; and at six miles arrested by high water. This, and the last stream, fell into the Arkansas river. Ate this morning bacon and goose eggs, and at noon turtle soup. Not an alderman present! ! !

10th. Still waiting for the fall of the small water course in our route.

11th. The small streams are down this morning, and we are in motion at the usual hour. Road muddy; reached Council Grove; the creek Ni Osho too high to ford. Made 8 miles.

12th. Detained by high water; one mess breakfasting on ham and eggs, another dining on alderman soup; met here a return caravan.

13th. Made a bridge to the water edge and crossed the wagons in season to encamp before the storm; rain in the evening, and at midnight a thunder gust.

14th. Rain continues, which detains us until the middle of the day. Made only six miles, and encamped in time to reef wagon cover before a Noah-like tempest descended.

15th. Under way at 8 o'clock; made eight grievous miles, and encamped early at Diamond Spring; a mutinous disposition repressed by *bandit logic.*

16th. With infinite labor, through mud, we reached 8 miles, and slept in the prairie at a spring; no fuel.

17th. In four hours' march made only 8 miles; found weeds and brush sufficient to boil coffee. Our route today is over a roundabout (Irish) cutoff; encamped after marching 14 miles; not a tree in view; enough fuel procured to dress our suppers. These scanty gleanings consist of sumack

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brush. While suffering with extreme thirst, about the middle of today, one of the party discovered a spring, the water of which bubbled through white sands, at the head of a prairie ravine.

18th. Made a prairie bridge, and marched 12 miles, to Cotton Wood grove.

19th. After having proceeded 10 miles, halted at a place where there are "ferruginous appearances;" our mules found salt here on the surface of the earth. The antelope is a subject of speculation this morning, and one of our hunters has been occupied in decoying, with a flag, one of these nimble-footed animals. He likewise attempted this ruse de guerre to draw a wolf within reach of his rifle: a piece of flesh on the end of his gun-stick would have been more effectual. We find buffalo grass today; and fresh traces of buffalo remind us of the approaching marrow-bone feasts that are to change the monotony of our meals. No fuel; made 18 miles.

20th. Our route today is over a fine tract of table-land; passed several branches of Turkey creek, which runs into the Arkansas; saw one wild horse and a few antelope; encamped at a little creek; without fuel; two men lost; fired a gun, and, late at night, they reached camp. This day's march extended 20 miles.

21st. A little before daylight, the mules made an abortive attempt to raise a stampido; half an hour later an alarm was created by a shot from one of the sentinels, and the cry of Indians, aroused the whole camp. Killed and wounded, blank; alarmed, none.

22d. At 5 o'clock, a. m., after moving quietly forward three hours and a half, a team in rear of the caravan took fright, and, in an instant, more than twenty were coursing over the prairie with Olympic speed. Dined at twelve miles, and dressed our first meal over a fire made of dry buffalo ordure; marched six miles further, and encamped on the branch of Little Arkansas. An Irish sentinel of the horse guard, about 10 o'clock, mistook one of the company

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for an Indian; he fired, and then challenged. Several fish caught this evening.

23d. At six o'clock commenced a bridge, and completed it at ten. Several fine fish caught this morning; crossed, and put the caravan in motion at 2 o'clock. The road lies over a less fertile country than that which we have passed; a hot wind from the sand hills to the south, and on our left. The ground here, in many places, covered with salt; made 12 miles, and encamped at a branch of Cow creek; timber on its banks.

24th. Dined at a difficult crossing of another branch of Cow creek, which we passed after an interesting entertainment of a wagon race. It is one of the *foibles* of mule teams that, after they have travelled four or five hundred miles, and when it is supposed they are about to tire, to take fright from a profile view of their shadows, and run like the antelope of these plains. After marching 13 miles, reached the main branch of Cow creek, which is barely fordable. Bridged the crossing.

25th. Finished crossing at 10 o'clock; a good supply of fish caught last night, and this morning. Reached the Arkansas at 4 o'clock, encamped and replenished our shot pouches. "Keep your eyes skinned now," said the old trapper. We are now entering upon the most dangerous section of the trace, the war ground of the Panis, Osages and Kansas. This is likewise a fine buffalo country, but we have no hump! no marrow bones! and no tongues, except our own *parts of speech*. Our hunters have brought in an antelope. We have observed in the prairie, during the last six days, the sensitive plant, or, as our Englishman says, "the plant to try maids with." One of our hunters has filled the camp with "smiles" and buffalo meat: the first two buffaloes which we discovered are slain. Netty Bumpo himself would have granted an approving grin on such a hunt.

26th. Our route today lies up the left bank of the Arkansas river. Saw a hare, larger than the English animal

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of that name. We have bigger thunder here, too. Passed through several prairie-dog villages. Our hunters saw thirty buffalo, and selected two. Made 20 miles. We find the Walnut creek swimming.

27th. A fish resembling a shad caught this morning. Waiting for the high water to recede.

28th. Discovered a shallow ford, and crossed. The prairie on our right and left, and in front, speckled with buffalo. Encamped early near the Arkansas. Our hunters give tongue and hump meat: this our old trapper calls "strong" buffalo signs, and the old Englishman was heard to mutter something about one Sir Loin, whom he had seen once or twice in Cumberland. A strong gale of wind at nightfall. Made six miles today.

29th. Fine short grass prairie; buffalo in immense herds on all sides; selected several fat ones, and encamped, after a march of 19 miles.

30th. At 8 miles, reached the Pani fork of the Arkansas, cut down and bridged the muddy banks, and passed over in a thundergust.

July 1st. Half the day spent in drying, and bringing up arrears of meals. Our route continued over a beautiful inclined plain 15 miles. During this day's march, the caravan bachi shot his own mule through the head in a buffalo chase. Stearne's lament over the dead ass repeated.

2d. Saw two small herds of wild horses; hunters killed five buffalo. Our road lies over a fine buffalo grass plain until noon, when we enter a rolling prairie country. Twenty-one miles today.

3d. Our march today is through a plain and rolling prairie, surrounded with buffalo. A herd of these attempted to break through our column of teams. "It will take a smart skrimmage and a sprinkle of shots," said the old trapper, "to turn them aside," and the leader fell at the flash of his rifle. Marched 20 miles, and encamped without timber —our supper dressed as usual, over buffalo fuel.

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4th. Continued our march over the finest natural road in the world, along the left bank of the Arkansas, 18 miles, to Anderson's caches. Saw here the grave of a white man and a broken swivel; two miles farther reached the ford of the river. Encamped.

5th. This day employed in preparation for passing the deep ford.

6th. Doubled teams, and passed the river. Here we take in water for three days' march.

7th. At 4 p. m. we entered *Jornada*. After passing the sand hills, a few buffalo were discovered, which is an indication of water, and at 5 and 7 miles, ponds were discovered; at the last we encamped for the night.

8th. We have found water at 3, 4, and 12 miles; all apprehensions are at rest. Wild horses have approached within four miles of our line of march. Made 22 miles, and encamped without water.

9th. Three miles from camp, on the trace, we observed water; sixteen miles further on several ponds of water were discovered, which had been indicated as we were approached by herds of buffalo and swarms of mosquitoes. Encamped, after a march of 19 miles.

10th. Water in abundance along the trace today. At the pool where we dined, a buffalo approached within gunshot, and was slain. This day's march is estimated at 22 miles.

11th. Our course today was parallel with the Semiron. Crossed Sandy creek, and, at 14 miles, halted. The Semiron here presents a fine view of water, and 8 miles further up, at our camp, not a drop of water appears in the channel. Our course from the Arkansas to the Semiron is generally southwest; along the left bank of the latter, it lies almost due—west.

12th. At 12 o'clock reached water. In the afternoon our course changed to south-southwest; about sunset a hill ahead and buffalo in view: both these indicate water. At 7 o'clock encamped at a small pond, after completing 22 miles.

13th. At 8 miles reached the Semiron, changed our

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course up the stream two miles, and dined at a spring which waters a small piece or parcel of *tierra calicante.* In the evening, proceeded up the stream 8 miles: the earth whitened with salt and saltpetre; thunder and wind; the earth thirsting, but not a drink obtained from the clouds. This day's march 18 miles.

14th. Advanced 11 miles up the left bank of the Semiron, and dined. In the evening marched 10 miles, crossing and recrossing the river. Saw two wild horses. Course southwest in the forenoon, and south-southwest in the evening. 21 miles, a stampido at night, with wind and rain.

15th. At 7 miles, reached the Willows, a noted land mark, and at the same time obtained a view of the Sugarloaf mound; the two middle mounds, and the table mound, all above and near the upper Semiron spring. At 12 o'clock, encountered an Indian and squaw of the Kiawa nation. Several teams tired; the road good, but the saltpetre along the river bottom weakens our animals. This might be avoided by keeping out on the plains. Only 17 miles today.

16th. Crossed and filed off from the Semiron, and at 10 miles reached the upper Semiron spring, at the base of a very abrupt rocky hill, on the summit of which is a cross standing over the bones of two white men, who were slain while asleep by the *gallant, high-minded, persecuted, gentlemen Indians.* Saw here the first timber in nine days' march.

17th. At 7 miles a creek; cedars in abundance on the neighboring cliffs; marched 8 miles farther, and encamped at water, in a drain: 15 miles.

18th. After two hours' march, discovered the Rabbit Ears, two high isolated mountains which rise above the plain; since we crossed the Arkansas, the soil is miserably poor; marched 10 miles over hilly ground. In the evening, our road lies up an inclined plain, toward the Rock Mountains; seven miles to our camp, on the bank of a muddy pool, around which one hundred and sixty mules are pressing; a puddle is reserved for ourselves, which is deemed a luxury, after having drank unto pickling the salt waters of the Semiron;

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our long-eared stoics opened their konks half an hour before we halted, inviting this humane measure. The chapter of untoward events today, are, the resignation, in disgust, of a guard sergeant, and a gun-broken head of a driver, who held a seditious rein of ill-governed ass colts: at 17 miles we halted, without timber.

19th. The road this morning over rolling ground six miles, to a dry creek; thence up the bed of the creek to a rocky basin of water; the videttes ahead. In the evening discovered three Kiawa Indians, who were at war with a buffalo bull; they hid themselves in clift of a rock; when they came forth, they uttered all the Spanish they were masters of, bellowing lustily *amigo! amigo!* friend! friend! This day's march estimated at fifteen miles.

20th. The road today hilly until noon; in the evening over a plane; passed an excellent spring, and a small creek, *La Madre Loma*, (Mother hill), in our view. Yesterday morning after we encamped, a small party of red gentlemen called on us; smoked, ate, drank, and slept with us; one of them, at the first setting, drank nine pints of water; he was probably a secretary of some cold water conventicle. The chief of this little band claimed the honor for them of being Kiawas. Through the medium of the Pani language, we learned that they had been on a gentleman-like horse stealing expedition against the Chians, in which they were at first successful, but when they believed that had escaped with their booty, the Chians were down upon them, and retook the cavalry and a few scalps. They had walked at double quick step for the last two or three days; finding themselves at ease and secure in our camp, they 'slept fast.' Our march of the day was 15 miles.

21st. This morning, we parted with our guests, with mutual expressions of esteem and good will; our old trapper told them that when he returned their visit, he would leave his card, meaning a ball cartridge. The soil today is improving as we advance. Saw wild horses, deer, and antelope; encamped four miles short of the Round Mound; 15 miles.

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22d. Sent a party of 8 men ahead today to make arrangements for payment of duties; the supposed distance from Toas, the nearest settlement, is one hundred miles. This evening our road is fine, and lies over a plane, on all sides of which, detached mountains render the scenery extremely picturesque; a few wild horses in view; the buffalo have been banished their usual range in these plains, by the droughth of the seasons. Recent rains have afforded us a supply; and in the deep rocky branch near where we are tonight encamped, there is really a deficiency. Our mules, during the last few days, have been thriving.

23d. Reached this morning the summit of the ridge which divides the waters of the Semiron and Canadian branch of the Arkansas. From this point, we have a view of a spar of the Rocky Mountains; we observe, likewise, *Cievas las Gallinas*, (Chicken Hills,) which are situated not far from St. Magill. The atmosphere on this mountain region is so clear that we can, with the naked eye, take in incalculable distances; a hill that may seem within an hour's ride, proves to be ten leagues from us.

24th. After four hours' march, we find ourselves at the Point of Rocks. We were today gratified with a full view of the Rocky Mountains ranging along to the right. When our Mexican, from a hill top, caught a distant view of the mountain, he lept for joy, discharged his carabine, and exclaimed, "La luz de mis ojos, mi casa, mi alma;" light of my eyes, my house, my love. Such emotions as these, we call, in Spanish, *amor de la patria*. Marched 17 miles.

25th. In the morning entertained with mule races by several teams; crossed the Canadian branch of the Arkansas; encamped after a march of 15 miles.

26th. Still encamped at the ford of Canadian river; the base of the Rocky Mountains appeared to us not more than six leagues distant; the mountain tops are covered with snow. This evening when threatened with a famine, or a mule feast, two black specks appeared far off, up the

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ravine leading to the mountains: these were buffalo, and they cost us only two ball cartridges.

27th. Marched today twenty-five miles, and encamped at the *Pilot Knobs*. The only occurrence worthy of note, is a sample of sharpshooting by Maj. Nimrod; he attempted to create a wild mule, and shot him somewhere about the hips.

28th. Timber to the right and left, not far off; the soil sufficiently fertile for growing small grain. Our mules have been recently much benefited by the *gramme grass*, the best pasturage between the Atlantic and Pacific ocean. A heavy shower of rain fell on us as we were about to renew our afternoon march; before we halted for the night, another shower; and, about 9 o'clock, a rain far hung over the hills on our right; the moon was up; encamped near a grove of pines, after completing 20 miles.

29th. At dawn of day the whole caravan of merchants and muleteers resolved themselves into a committee of tar makers, and long before night every tar bucket was filled. Ourself here "bruised a serpent's head;" the snake measured 5 feet 3 inches in length, and one of the tar kill operators killed his brother or cousin, which measured 5 feet 4 inches, inclusive of rattles. This last had swallowed a prairie dog of mature age and full grown.

30th. Resumed our march, and crossed *el Moro* and *el Sapiote*. Timber in all the streams of this region of country.

31st. Waiting the return of our advance party. The Mexicans spinning rope yarn out of the foretops of buffalo.

August 1st. The caravan in motion at the usual time; at one mile from camp, "a horse loose in a cane brake," said the old trapper; turned around and saw twenty teams in full career; the mules had rested one day, and grateful for the indulgence, volunteered this entertainment. About noon saw a party of horsemen on the trace ahead; they were our advance party, with several Mexicans. Continued our march, and encamped at *Rio las Gallinas*.

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2d. Left the caravan, which was within a day's march of San Magill, the first Mexican settlement through which the wagon road passes. A guide proposed to lead the light party which I had joined, by a direct route, in one day to Santa Fe; he did so, but over Alps and Appenines. Before we reached the summit of the mountain, in mercy to our mules, we were constrained to dismount. All marvellous, and some scientific, travellers write, "that, on ascending the summit of cloud ridden mountains, they feel great difficulty in respiration, on account of a change in the atmosphere;" never bearing in mind that their impatience to reach the end of the journey, imposes on their lungs the double duty of a blacksmith's bellows.

End of extracts from the diary.

In expressing an opinion that the caravans are competent to self-defense, I have perhaps adopted the impression that prevails among men, with arms in their hands, and impelled by that fearless spirit which animates the people of this country.

But the loss of several valuable lives in this trade has occurred; and this evil may be extended, if the Blackfeet Indians and the Chians continue to infest the route of the traders. These tribes are numerous, warlike, and extremely hostile. Perhaps the War Department may suggest some mode of military protection to this trade, which will meet with the approbation of Congress, so as to prevent a recurrence of the disasters of 1820. [Should be 1828—Ed.]

In the autumn of that year, the largest return caravan was repeatedly attacked, and two lives lost. A smaller company, which returned late in the fall, was defeated, with the loss of one man, all their horses and mules; and they were to a precipitate flight in the night, lighted on the way by the blaze of their wagons. Toiling under the grievous weight of their money packs, feeding on the herbage of the prairies, they marched in this manner more than three hundred miles to our frontier settlements.

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The larger company was strong enough, and so prudent as to escape defeat, although two of their number were slain. One of these, with only the faint flickerings of life remaining, was borne along, with great care, two days' march; and when at length the caravan halted in the wilderness, to perform for him the last sacred office, the enemy appeared. A band of the same nation which had enacted the mischief, approached with friendly indications. The grief and indignation which were mingled, and strongly operating at the grave of their companion, rendered abortive all the conciliatory efforts of the commander of the caravan: not from the pipe of peace, but from fifty rifles, a volume of smoke arose. The bloody reprisal was complete; and when the traveller subsequently passed that way, he saw the wolf of the prairie

"Gorging and growling o'er carcass and limb;
They were too busy to bark at him;
From a Panis' scull they had stripped the flesh,
As ye peel the fig when the fruit is fresh;
And their white tusks cranched o'er the whiter scull
As it slipped through their jaws, when their edge grew dull,
As they lazily mumbled the bones of the dead,
When they scarce could rise from the spot where they fed."

Permit me to conclude this communication, which, perhaps, has been already extended beyond endurance, with the description of a surgical operation that was performed on the plains beyond the Arkansas. One of the traders had a dangerous gun-shot wound in the arm; he was reduced to the alternative of death or amputation. The last was attempted, with such instruments as could be found in the camp. The operation was performed by one of the hunters of the company, who had attained some celebrity in cutting out hump meat. A small cord twisted around the limb was the tourquet; the cutis was separated from the muscles by the application of the sharpest butcher's knife in camp.

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The muscles were divided, and the bone was cut asunder with a carpenter's saw. It was not deemed necessary to take up the arteries, and a large wagon bolt was heated, with which the stump was seared so effectually as to prevent hemorrhage.

The whole operation was concluded by the application of a dressing from the nearest tar bucket. Not a groan nor a sigh was uttered during the operation, and the patient recovered.

This is a lively picture of the shifts to which human ingenuity is sometimes driven; and the fortitude evinced by the sufferer in this case, is a trait of character belonging to the pioneers of the perilous commerce.

I am, very respectfully,

Sir, your obedient servant,

ALPHONSO WETMORE.

HON. LEWIS CASS,

Secretary of War.

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ECHOES OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

Third Paper.

Of the many tribes of Indians that came to Missouri and remained for a short time, the Kickapoos are among the most interesting. They were residents of Indiana and Illinois in 1819, and, chafing under the encroachments of white settlers on their hunting grounds, they ceded their lands to the United States. A treaty was made and concluded July 30th, 1819, at Edwardsville, Ill., between August Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, commissioners in behalf of the United States, and the principal chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe. Their lands in Indiana and Illinois were ceded to the United States and in lieu thereof obtained lands in Missouri as follows:

"Beginning at the confluence of the Rivers Pommes de Terre and Osage; thence, up said river Pommes de Terre to the dividing ridge, which separates the waters of the Osage and White rivers; thence, with said ridge, westwardly, to the Osage line; thence, due north with said line, to Nerve Creek; thence down the same to a point due south of the mouth of White Clay, or Richard Creek; thence, down said river to the beginning." (1)

This treaty and removal to these lands in Missouri were no doubt promoted and welcomed by Chouteau. He was interested in several trading posts in this territory. The trade with the Osages was decreasing. Most of them removed to the Arkansas and Neosho country. The Pomme de Terre was practically unoccupied by either white or Indian. It was a good business venture for Chouteau as the Kickapoos would patronize the trading posts in which he and his friends were more or less interested.

The Osages resented the removal of the Kickapoos of Indiana and Illinois to this part of the State of Missouri. On the arrival of the Kickapoos at the Pomme de Terre the

1. See Indian Treaties, 1778-1837, p. 268.

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Osages objected on the ground that their lands had been sold to the United States for the whites, and not for other Indians who would spread over their hunting grounds and kill their game. (2)

Soon the influx of whites began to spread along the rich valleys in this part of the Ozarks and the Kickapoos found themselves in a situation similar to the one they had left in Indiana and Illinois. These Indians began to be a source of trouble to the settlers and a treaty was made with them, concluded October 24, 1832, when they ceded their lands in Missouri and agreed to remove to lands given them in the territory west of the Missouri river at Camp Leavenworth.

Some of the items in the auditor's accounts at the time of this removal are of interest:

James Kennerly, for the removal and subsistence of the Kickapoo Indians emigrating to their lands west of the Missouri up to May 31, 1833, as follows:

Oct. 30, 1832, John F. Hogel, (3) for services in conducting a deputation of Kickapoos from Pomme de Terre to St. Louis, from Sept. 20th to Oct. 5th, at $4.00 per day, $90.00.

Oct. 29, 1832, Kickapoo Prophet, for cash paid him to purchase horses for his people, Kickapoos, under the 11th Art. of Treaty, 24th inst., $1,000.00.

Nov. 1, 1832, Robert Payne, for merchandise furnished Kickapoos under treaty, $5,000.00.

These last two items make the $6,000.00 called for in the treaty. (4)

May 21, 1833, Josiah S. Walton, (5) 20 bu. corn, $10.00; Josiah S. Walton, for one wagon for use of Kickapoos, $60.00.

Oct. 31, 1832, C. Redman, for two horses furnished Kickapoos to aid them in moving west, $65.00.

2. See Houck Hist. Mo. Vol. 1, p. 196.

3. John F. Hogel had a trading post at a very early date on the Osage river at the mouth of Hogel's Creek, in what is now Benton Co.

4. See Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 533.

5. Josiah S. Walton built the first grist mill in what is now Morgan County, at James Mill Springs, and court was held in his residence until a court house could be completed in Versailles.

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Dec. 19, 1832, Benjamin O'Fallon, for three horses furnished Kickapoos to assist them in moving west, $120.00; W. T. Redman, for catching and delivering two stray Kickapoo horses, $5.00.

Numerous items for catching and delivering horses occur throughout the accounts of the various emigrating tribes. Horses turned out to graze often wandered great distances from the Indian encampments. When found, such strays were returned to the village or encampment to which they belonged. For this service the government paid while the Indians were being removed.

The following names appear in the accounts for supplies or for services rendered and some of them will be recognized as old settlers: W. B. Dunivan, corn; Andrew Ramsey, corn; J. S. Hutchinson, potatoes; Von Pheet and McGill, merchants; Wm. Gennings, Solomon Hoyle, Stephen Howard, N. W. Mack, John R. Huff, Truston Fisher.

"The Prophet" and "Ma-cha-we-na" were the names of two of the Chiefs of the Kickapoos on the Pomme de Terre and on Kickapoo Prairie in what is now Greene county.

"Kickapoo Chiefs" for cash to "Prophet" and "Ma-cha-we-na" for provisions for their people while on their route, $40.00.

Dec. 24, 1832, John M. McCausland, for services and expenditures in conducting Kickapoos from Illinois, from near St. Louis to Osage River, $275.97.

May 2, 1832, paid to P. Chouteau, Jr., for expenses as follows:

John F. Hogel, being due him by the Kickapoos tribe of Indians and provided for by the 3rd Art. of the treaty made with said tribe at Castor Hill, $5,972.00.

G. Kennerly, for the Kickapoo tribe and provided for by treaty as per above, $128.00.

G. S. Hubbard, for a debt due him by the Prophets band, $110.00.

G. E. Walker, in full of a debt due him by the Kickapoos of the Prophet's band, $43.00.

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P. Delounoi, as per above, $82.33.

D. Lanston, as per above, $82.00.

W. Crumpton, as per above, $82.34.

Menard and Valle incurred expenses as follows:

William Gillis, amount allowed him by the Kickapoo tribe, and provided for by the 3rd Art. of treaty, $4,865.00.

John Campbell, as per above, $350.00.

Wm. Marshall, as per above, $285.00.

Aug. 14, 1833, Charless and Pascall, for publishing in the Missouri Republican proposals for furnishing provisions for the Kickapoos, $7.75.

Similar bills for advertising the same were allowed the St. Louis Free Press, published by Peach and Ruggles; Missouri Courier, published by Robert Stewart; Western Monitor, published by W. H. Birch; and in the Jeffersonian Republican, published by Calvin Gunn.

Sept. 14, W. Christy, for two bay horses for Kickapoo Prophet, $120.00.

Sept. 14, W. Christy, one yoke of oxen for same, $45.00.

Oct. 2, Kickapoo Prophet, for cash advanced him to pay ferriage, for provisions, etc., for himself and party from St. Louis home, $20.00.

Dec. 1, J. D. Swallows, for pay as teacher Kickapoo's school, Dec. 1833, at $400 per annum, $33.33.

The advertisement referred to in the above accounts appeared in the Jeffersonian Republican from August 3, 1833, to Nov. 9, 1833, and was as follows:

"PROPOSALS FOR FURNISHING RATIONS."

Notice is hereby given, that proposals will be received at this office until the first day of Sept. next, for furnishing and issuing rations to the Kickapoo and Pottawattomie Indians, now on the Kickapoo lands near Fort Leavenworth, at such points (not exceeding two) on or near the Missouri River, as may be designated by the Agent for those tribes, viz.:

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To the Kickapoo and Pottawattomie Indians, who are expected to be on the Kickapoo lands as above stated, such quantity of rations as may be required, not exceeding 300 rations per day for one year from the time of their arrival, of which due notice will be given.

The rations to consist of ¼ lb. of fresh beef or fresh pork, or ¾ lbs. of salt pork or bacon, and of ¾ a qt. of corn or corn meal, or 1 lb. of flour, and four quarts of salt to every 100 rations; the government agent having the right to require the issue of such proportion of the bread ration in *flour* as will be equal to at least one-half of said ration; and also to regulate the number of days to be drawn for any one time, as well as the proportion of salt and fresh meat to be issued.

Bond and security will be required for the faithful performance of the contract." (Signed) Wm. Clark.

Office of Superintendent Indian Affairs,
St. Louis, July, 1833.

The Delawares ranged in the Discovery period over Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and from Sandy Hook to Cape May, and on both shores of the Delaware bay. They roamed north to the Hudson and south as far as the Potomac. It was with this people that Penn made his famous treaty in 1682, under the spreading elm that stood at "Shackamoxon." In the rotunda of the capitol at Washington is an historical fresco recalling that event. It was the Delawares and Shawnees, under the leadership of the French, that defeated Braddock, and it took all the strategy of the then young Washington to save the remnants of an army. These tribes were gradually pushed back across the Allegheny ridges until they occupied scattered outposts from the great lakes to the northern line of Tennessee.

To protect the Spanish settlements from the attacks of the Osages, Carondelet induced the Delawares and Shawnees to emigrate to what was the Spanish domain and settle at

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Apple Creek and other places near the eastern border of the State. They afterward scattered over the State in small bands as the hunting became poor at their old camps. They were successful in keeping the Osages confined to the Neosho tribal lands and the plains country. Before the Delawares and Shawnees came a small band of 30 Peorias and Kaskaskias living near Ste. Genevieve, seldom hunted because of their fear of the Osages. (6)

In a supplemental treaty with the Delawares on Sept. 24, 1829, that tribe agreed to "vacate the country on James Fork of White River in the State of Missouri." (7)

George Vashon, U. S. Indian Agent on James Fork of White River in State of Missouri, Sept. 24, 1829, signed the treaty with the Delawares. (8)

In 1806 the Delawares had a village near Forsyth, in what is now Taney county, on the White river, and another village on James' Fork in what is now Christian county, and a village on Wilson Creek in Greene county, near what was afterwards the famous battlefield where Gen. Lyon fell.

"A number (I know not how many, nor what their state and character) of the Delawares, emigrants from east of the Mississippi, settled on the east side of the White river, at the bend, in about Lat. 35, 40 N. Their hunting grounds are in that neighborhood." (9)

It is stated in one of the reports to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions that there were 1800 of these Delawares. This band lived in what is now Arkansas, hunted near the headwaters of the White, and sometimes made excursions into Missouri up the Current River and other streams.

Some accounts of Delawares:

Oct. 29, 1830, Wm. Clark, for Benjamin Smith, for services as express to Delaware towns on White River, with a message to Chief Anderson in relation to his moving to Kansas, $28.00.

6. See Houck's Hist. Mo. Vol. 1, p. 181, also ibid. 208.
7. Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1837, p——.
8. Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. —— .
9. Morses' Report, p. 236.

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Dec. 31, 1831, Pierre Menard, for expenses on account of Delawares, among other items the following: (10)

To James Wright, for transportation of Delawares from White River to Kansas River, $124.00.

James Pool, ditto, $93.00.

Billy Anderson, ditto, $52.00.

Edward Bradford, for his services driving chief Anderson's wagon, 31 days, $31.00.

The Shawnee tribe was closely associated with the Delawares through intermarriages and constantly being in neighboring territory. Peter Cornstalk, a son of the celebrated Cornstalk of Dunmore war, was among the Shawnees of Apple Creek, in Perry and Ste. Genevieve counties. These tribes lived together on Shawnee and Indian Creeks on the Meramec.

"On the Meramec about 24 warriors of the Shawnees lived, one band on the Fourche-a-Courtois, in Washington county, another between the Bourbeuse and Meramec under Rogers, their chief or head man. A few near Bridgeman, in St. Louis county. About 1803 or 1804, Rogers' band moved to the big spring at the head of the Meramec, but it afterwards came back down the river and settled on Indian prairie, in Franklin county, a few miles south of Union." (11)

A village of Shawnees and Delawares lived on the headwaters of the Gasconade. "Wapepillose, afterward with Dodge on the Missouri, and, in 1835, Chief of the Shawnee village where Bloomfield now stands." (12)

In 1837 the Pottawattomies were removed from northern Indiana to the headwaters of the Osage River in Kansas. N. Clary, wagoner, driving a four horse team, was with a party during the removal and relates that the caravan moved in wagons and on foot, the Indian men walking and hunting as they went. The number of wagons was sixty and the distance made each day was from 7 to 20 miles. Stops for

10. Emigrating Indians, Vol. 5, p. 502.
11. See Houck's Hist. Mo., Vol. 1, p. 209-211.
12. Spanish Regime in Mo., Houck, Vol. 2, p. 74, note.

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the night were made where water was plentiful and all slept in tents and wagons. The Indians were well treated by the removing party and did not suffer for food or water. The caravan crossed the Mississippi river at Alton, Ill., in an old shattered steamboat that was unsafe, and it took them two days to cross to the Missouri side. The Grand river was crossed near its mouth and the Missouri was ferried near Independence. After having been 60 days making the journey the Indians were left near the Osage river in Kansas. (13).

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

13. McDonald, Removal of Pottawattomies, p. 46.

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A RUNNING GLANCE OVER THE FIELD OF MUSIC IN MISSOURI.

In the western forests the first music to displace the primitive, rhythmical divisions of the monochord used by the Indians was that of France; chansons, the folksongs of the earliest comers into the territory of Upper Louisiana.

Because there exists no mention of others, the only musical instruments, it seems, in use in the new country were the violin (fiddle), and a mouth harp peculiar to the street players of France. It was not long, however, until mention of flute and harpsichord appeared in the tellings of the time; and, yet, for all dances of record until well on into the next century only fiddles furnished the music. On the night of the Fourth of July, 1778, the English officers at Kaskaskia gave a ball. The music for this occasion was made by two old French fiddlers, and most of the dancers there were from Saint Louis, amongst them Pepita, the beautiful daughter of De Leyba, the newly-appointed Spanish commandant of Upper Louisiana. It was this dance into which irrupted George Rogers Clark, his overland journey of occupation in the name of the State of Virginia being ended there, and at that hour. As he entered the midst of the unwitting and merry dancers he appeared an apparition of terror; but was recognized as the emissary of the new government, and the beautiful Pepita hastened to say for herself, "Sir, I am not of England. I am from Saint Louis, and of Spain." The Virginian needed no further invitation to make himself one of the company, and at once was transformed from a warlike captain into a willing devotee of Terpsichore; also, before the merriment ran out, he was captive to Dan Cupid. Thus we hear of another dance, contrived by him, that he might again look upon the beauty and feel the charm of the presence of Pepita. This was the ball at Prairie du Rocher, in the house of M. Henri Rolaine. Rolaine was, himself,

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the single fiddler on this occasion. He is described in an old account thus: "In huge slippers, bulging yarn stockings, tight breeches of blue, and a flowing coat of yellow, he was gleefully happy, and ever and anon tuned his violin lovingly."

Fireside songs there were in plenty, brought from over the ocean, and later from New Orleans; folksongs grave and gay, chansons merry and bright, with the minor music of grief and reflection. There, too, was the ronde, always accompanied by the singing of the dancers, never danced to an instrumental accord.

And that one day which was completely filled with song and dance! —That sadly gay, madly merry but tearful day, when the beloved flag of La Belle France again waved over the town after an eclipse of forty years. This fell between Spanish supremacy and that of the United States. On this occasion the agent for the States became a Pooh Bah. It was in order for Amos Stoddard to receive the country from France, so that he named himself a French agent, on one side of the stage, to take over Louisiana from Spain; then, with a run (metaphorical) to the opposite side became again himself that the United States might treat with Spain. So for the one day of French possession the tricolor again waved over Saint Louis. At sight of it the people became wildly happy.

The day was passed underneath the flag, with songs and dancing, and a guard of honor kept watch there all the night. Until the rising of the sun on the 10th of March, 1804, the people waked, singing the dear home songs of France; then at sunrise took down the standard of the sunny land over seas and folded it away, to float in supremacy no more, for all time, over the earth this side the wide sea.

It was the same year that President Jefferson appointed Col. Samuel Hammond commander of the new District of St. Louis. With the coming of his family came also a piano, called then "forte piano." This kind of instrument was fitted with hammers, crude enough in comparison with after advances in construction, but notable then as being

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better than the reeds of the harpsichord. Mrs. Hammond was a woman of social inclinations and musical taste, and many were the grand entertainments given in the mansion on the corner of Third and Spruce streets. At the commandantorial dances the piano was enforced by two violins, with sometimes a flute. So that here was prophesy of the superb orchestration destined one day to be developed in the future city.

Affairs moved on into the double 'teens, and in 1814 when the village had grown into a town there was organized a "Thespian Society." This was not given over to theatricals alone, but partook largely of the character of a musical club. Concerts were often given by the Thespians, and their plays always featured music in some sort. An old announcement ran, "The Thespian Society will present Monday evening the five-act play of Lovers' Vows. Excellent music provided."

Then there was the "Cafe Chantant," and the "Bowery;" still, upon the coming of La Fayette in 1825 only fiddlers furnished the music for the grand ball given in his honor.

The decade following showed a marked advance in the understanding and appreciation of music, as both an art and a science, as distinguished from its enjoyment, and being a means of entertainment. About the year 1834 an exponent of this forward movement came to the front in the person of Miss Amanda Phillips, whose repertoire included Beethoven, Mozart, and others of the great masters. She was the daughter of a musician, and finely educated; but brilliant and beautiful as she was her life went out in darkness, though not without having left its impress and uplift on local taste for music.

In 1838 came a vocalist from the Malibran Opera Company, Madame Brichter. She was a singer of rare charm and versatility; and remaining to teach, and use her talents for the benefit of the growing city her influence for the best in music cannot be overestimated.

In a series of concerts given in November, December, January, March, April and May of 1838-39 she had the

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assistance of Therese Weber, a girl of wonderful musical ability, both as a vocalist and pianist. In these concerts Mr. William Robyn was celloist, Mr. Charles Balmer was one violinist, Mr. Fallen another. Martinetz, the famous Spanish guitarist, was amongst these performers, as also was M. Carriese, one of the sweetest of flute players. Madame Brichter and the pure-voiced, clean-throated Therese Weber sang together the great duos from Semiramides, Tancredi, Norma, and many other selections from the Immortals in music. These concerts were for the benefit of the first Episcopal church, then being built and in need of funds for its completion. The building was finished and dedicated in 1840, with Mr. Charles Balmer at the organ, and Miss Therese Weber, the soloist, in "Angels Ever Bright and Fair," and "O, Rejoice ye Daughters of Zion."

'Twas on this night that, after the service, Mr. Balmer displaced Mr. Rene Paul as Miss Weber's escort home, and "Took advantage of this opportunity to propose marriage to the rosy-cheeked young musical enthusiast." So it was that Therese Weber became Mrs. Charles Balmer, and the two together set a deep and enduring impress, a lovely intaglio of musical ideals, upon the young State of Missouri.

In 1839 Mr. Weber organized Saint Louis' first orchestra, in his enthusiasm paying the musicians at his own cost. Then, in a year or two, was given the first Oratorio, with Mr. Balmer its leader.

Long before this time the fast filling State was being vocalized throughout. In every town and hamlet were pioneer musicians gathering together small classes of students of instrumental music, and in every country neighborhood an itinerant music master, (so-called), was teaching singing "by note," as he beat out the time with a movement of his lifted hand. Those old-time singing men did as much for the progress of musical taste and ability in Missouri as was done by the early circuit rider for the cause of religion.

And now came a demand for musical entertainment. This was almost state-wide, and brought such response as the

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traveling minstrel troupes, and such sweet singers as the quartette vocalists—the Rainey Family, the Hutchinson Family and others. Some time in the forties came Madame Anna Bishop, singing charmingly in all the river towns as far as Independence. At that time there was no Kansas City.

But the crowning event of those days, the apotheosis of musical fulfillment, was the coming to Saint Louis, in 1852, of Jenny Lind. People from all over the State flocked there to hear her marvelous singing. It is not altogether easy now to understand—after all the years have enriched us with the highest and finest powers of the human throat in vocalization—the furore, the enthusiasm, the wild delight with which Jenny Lind's singing was received. And with her coming began a new epoch; the old order changed, and the feeling for, and understanding of the soundless depths, the unreachable heights of the meaning of MUSIC took on a different presentment. So, here endeth the first Lesson. The second Lesson has been so filled with multiplex characteristics, so goldenly interwoven, in and out, with all that is worth while in music, it needs must be that a wise and very knowledgeful recorder should deal with its containment. The present reminiscencer is but taking a swift backward look from the elevation of more than threescore-and-ten years, and must, perforce, leave the second Lesson to some historian of Music in Missouri.

SUSAN A. ARNOLD McCAUSLAND.

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AN OLD MISSOURI TOWN. (1)

NAPTON, SALINE COUNTY.

Down the Salt Fork ten miles from Marshall on the "river route" of the Missouri Pacific railroad is the town of Napton. So small and unpretentious is it, so like hundreds of little country villages all over Missouri that the passer-by on the train rarely glances out the window and more rarely ever remembers any such place. Small as it is, however, it is not to be sneezed at according even to present day standard. It is a convenient shipping point for a very rich farming section and its railroad business is larger than many towns five times its size.

To that man who is interested in Missouri's history, especially history of times before the war, little Napton looms up big. There was a time when the town was the largest pumpkin in the garden of Saline. Napton used to be called Jonesboro and, as Jonesboro, was the county seat of Saline county from 1831 to about 1839. Saline has had four county seats since its organization in 1820. First Jefferson on the Missouri river near where is now the town of Cambridge, next Jonesboro, next Arrow Rock and finally Marshall. The name Jonesboro was changed to Napton not many years ago on account of a ruling by the postal department. There was another Jonesboro somewhere in Missouri which the department let keep the name and forced a change on the Saline county town. Nobody cared a great deal though and the town was rechristened Napton in honor of Judge W. B. Napton of Missouri's supreme court who lived near by. Napton to-day, although small, is by no means dead, a mere memory of the past. There is plenty of life there as anyone can see who has the right kind of eyes. In the county seat

1. A newspaper article from the Kansas City Star of March 5, 1905, by Rollins Bingham. It contains a good deal of information, not only of this particular town, but of the customs of the early days of the State.

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days, however, it was comparatively much more of a town than it has ever been since. It was not only the seat of justice, the place where public business was transacted, but it was a favorite outfitting and starting point for traders, explorers and adventurers bound for the great West and Southwest.

The room where court was held was the upper story of a double log building on the higher elevation of the second bank down near the creek. The lower story was divided into two rooms in one of which was a grocery store and in the other a livery stable. When it was necessary for a jury to retire for deliberation it was taken down into the stable, the horses being first taken outside so that the jurymen might be absolutely undisturbed or not distracted by any kind of presence. Among the lawyers who used to plead in that log court room were some big men. Big they were then and they would be prominent now or at any time should such be born again. Among them were Judge Todd, Abiel Leonard, Hamilton R. Gamble, General Duff Green and John E. Ryland. There was a famous old hotel at Jonesboro in those days. Rather crowded during court sessions it was, but there was always plenty to eat, and, for drinking, a fair article of Kentucky whiskey, unadulterated, uncontaminated and untaxed. Courthouse and hotel have long since passed away and today it would be hard to locate where they stood. No one but the oldest of the old men would know. Near Napton is "Elk Hill," the fine old country home of Judge Napton, still owned by his family. It is said that when the house was being built the judge insisted that the carpenters should shingle the roof *from the comb down.* He got mad because they would not do it his way. One of the workmen remarked:

"The judge may know all the law there is, but he don't know everything. He don't know a derned thing about shingling a roof."

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MISSOURI'S OLD MILITIA LAW.

While Jonesboro was a county seat Missouri's old time militia law was in being and rigidly enforced. The town was where the general muster of the whole county was held, Saline's grand maneuvers. Few men are now living who were old enough to come under that law. General muster was a big time, the biggest kind of a time. There have been no days since that begin to compare with general muster day in people's minds. The militia law was passed by the legislature in 1825 and was in force up to about 1840. Its purpose was to prepare the state for Indian wars or any other emergency that might arise. Those exempt from service were civil officers, preachers, teachers, millers and students in school. The civil standing of ministers prior to the adoption of the constitution of 1865 was curious. They were exempt from military service, but were not allowed to hold any civil office. Under the military law they could be chaplains, a position regarded as an honorable distinction and much sought after.

Under the militia law all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 were required to organize into companies, choose officers and meet at stated times and places for drill and exercise in military evolutions. Company commissioned officers were a captain and lieutenants; companies were organized into battalions; battalions into regiments with colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors and other field officers; regiments into brigades with a brigadier general in command; brigades into divisions under a major general. The whole was under the governor as the commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State. Commissioned officers from colonel down were elected by the votes of the rank and file; the higher officers by the vote of the subordinate commissioned officers. These officers drew no pay, but the titles gave rank and standing and were eagerly sought. There was much electioneering and log-rolling to secure them.

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On the first Saturday of April every year the citizens of each township, or, in thinly populated sections, the citizens of each county, came together to be formed into companies and drilled for soldiers. In May companies met for a battalion drill which lasted several days. In October drills were had by regiments and brigades. In Saline, company musters were held regularly in every township at a town or some convenient public place. Battalion musters were held at Miami, Jonesboro, Marshall, Keyser's bridge on Salt Fork and other places. The general muster, the grand yearly round up of the whole county, was at Jonesboro as long as that town remained the county seat.

GOT THEIR OWN EQUIPMENT.

There was no getting around the militia law. Militiamen had to attend musters or they were soaked with a fine. They had to provide and bring arms with them and have the weapons in good order. Every individual militia man did not own a gun, however, and those who did not were allowed to attend with any kind of a substitute which would suffice for going through the manual of arms. Poles, sticks, hoe handles and even cornstalks did martial duty in the stern ranks of war at the musters. It was not every officer who could get hold of a sword. No difference. A sword of wood, a rapier made from a lath did just as well.

As to the drilling, it did not go far towards making an efficient and disciplined body of soldiers. The officers as a rule knew nothing of tactics. Few of them knew "about face" from "grand right and left." The soldiers resented all attempts to make them disciplined machines. They were imbued with the same feeling as a Saline county militia company, at the beginning of the war, which was ordered to march to Boonville. The men refused to march because it looked too much like it was going to rain. As a matter of fact the drilling at the musters was a secondary incident to be got through with as quickly as possible. The "fun" and the "frolic" was the main thing and that drew the crowds.

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The soldiers were not in uniform. The officers were compelled to uniform themselves at their own expense, but were allowed to use their own taste in the kind of uniform they wore. The result, one may imagine, was a gorgeous collection. The musters produced one certain result—an abundant supply of military titles. Saline had colonels, majors, captains, etc., enough to supply Napoleon's grand army.

General muster day was a day to which everyone in the county looked forward. The wealthy officers made display of magnificent uniforms and popular heroes were cheered and hurrahed. On that day all the people from the surrounding country came in, looked at the drill, and, as a result of getting together, it was a day when debts were paid, new loans negotiated and trading done. No other day in the year was so generally observed or did so much to get the people acquainted with each other. It also was effective in cultivating a fine feeling of pride in the State and her institutions.

But the fun at the musters was not the least attraction. There was the old darky with his stand loaded with cider, spruce beer and ginger cakes; there was horse racing, foot racing, wrestling matches, climbing poles and catching the greased pig. There were fights, too, rough and tumble, fist and skull, where the woolly wolf from the Blackwater had it out with the ringtailed Painter from the Miami bottoms. Then at night there was the dance. The pigeon wing and the double shuffle, winding up with the ranking colonel leading out the grandest dame of the county into the measured maze of the Virginia reel.

The theory underlying the old time militia law was a good one—in time of peace prepare for war; but in practice the law was cumbersome, inconvenient and unsuited to the people and the times. It failed in its main purpose of creating an efficient militia and was finally repealed by the legislature some time before the breaking out of the Mexican war.

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HON. DAVID BARTON. (1)

As one strolls through any "silent city of the dead," how often, alas, does he run across the cold marble shaft marking the resting place of some one prominent, conspicuous and useful in his day, but now only numbered in the long list of those so forgotten that our young men and women of the current day are even unaware that such a person ever lived, and are entirely untaught in the history that oftentime attaches to them even locally.

Such a condition of things should not exist in these days of progressive and easy education, but in some way the local history of those whose deeds or words brought them into worthy prominence in their day and age should be kept fresh in the minds and memory of our young people as they, too, grow up to become more or less useful or prominent in statesmanship, heroism or philanthrophy.

Why should not our public schools set apart a day a year to be devoted to addresses on our local celebrities, whether of the field or forum, the pulpit or the bar, of war or of peace?

Such a thought is aroused in the mind of the writer as his eye rests upon a cold marble shaft in Walnut Grove cemetery, marking the last resting place of David Barton, "the forgotten statesman," who, in life, won such a place in the hearts and minds of his friends and neighbors that they not only erected to his memory, in death, a marble shaft, but inscribed on it, in lasting letters cut in stone, for all mankind forever to read and consider, this beautiful tribute: "A profound jurist, an honest and able statesman, a just and benevolent man."

In order, therefore, that our young people may not grow up in ignorance of so bright and noble a character who lived, labored and was loved in our midst in days gone by, I have written this brief sketch of the life of David

1. This sketch of Senator Barton was prepared by Captain Ravenel for and was first published in a newspaper, probably one of the Boonville papers.

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Barton, that it may perpetuate in the minds of our people the memory of a man whose worth was so beautifully recognized by his friends, but whose modesty seems to have almost forbidden its most public recognition.

David Barton was a Tennesseean by birth and education, having been born there December the 14th, 1783. He was a lawyer by profession, and in 1809, with two brothers, also limbs of the law, moved to Missouri, the subject of this sketch settling in St. Charles, and the two brothers in St. Louis. His brother Isaac returned to his native state, but Joshua, his other brother, was killed in a duel on "Bloody Island" by Thomas C. Rector, in 1823.

In addition to his professional duties, he for a time taught school in St. Charles.

At the breaking out of the war of 1812 he enlisted in the United States army and at its close settled in St. Louis. In 1813 he became attorney-general of the Territory, which office he held for two years, when he was elected to the circuit judgeship in St. Louis. He next became speaker of the Territorial legislature which met in St. Louis in 1818. In 1820 we again see a great honor and distinction conferred upon him, when he was elected president of the first constitutional convention of Missouri, held during that year in St. Louis. It has been claimed that it was his mind that framed and his hand that wrote the constitution adopted by that convention, and which, be it said to his credit, seemed so replete and complete that it was in force until displaced by the Drake constitution in 1866.

In 1820 another great compliment and honor was paid Mr. Barton in his being elected Missouri's first United States senator by acclamation, in which body he faithfully served his adopted state for ten years.

In the same session, Thomas H. Benton was elected as his colleague, not by acclamation, however, but after a most spirited contest for three days. We mention this incidentally to emphasize the compliment paid the subject of our sketch. Not only that, but history gives credit to Mr. Barton's

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loyalty and sagacity for consummating this contest in Mr. Benton's favor, whose warm personal friend Mr. Barton was at that time. It was done in this way—at the instigation of Mr. Barton, David Ralls, a very ill member, was brought into the chamber on a litter, and whose vote for Mr. Benton ended the contest.

Mr. Barton was a Whig, while Mr. Benton was a Democrat, and in time they drifted apart politically, until the two former friends became bitter enemies, personally. The breach widened until it culminated on February 9th, 1830, in Senator Barton making such a scathing and excoriating arraignment of his colleague, Senator Benton, in a speech of four hours on the Foote resolution, relating to public school lands and abolishing the office of surveyor-general, that critics have classed it with the famous reply of Webster to Hayne. This speech was considered so powerful a debate that it appears in "Sale and Seaton's Debates in Congress" among the great speeches of that august body. In retaliation for this excoriation it is said that Senator Benton never mentioned Senator Barton's name in his "Thirty Years Review" except to record his vote.

After leaving the United States senate, Mr. Barton became state senator from St. Louis and later circuit judge at Boonville, Mo., where he died September the 22nd, 1837, at the home of his life-long friend, Mr. William Gibson, just east of Walnut Grove cemetery, where his remains are at rest.

The first monument erected by his friends was in the old City cemetery, where all the old families are buried, but his remains were later removed to Walnut Grove cemetery, where the present marble shaft, erected by the state, marks the resting place of this statesman, jurist and honest man. The old shaft that was originally placed over him in the City cemetery was removed to Columbia, where it stands side by side with that of Thomas Jefferson, on the university campus, in that city, and where it was unveiled in 1899 before thousands of people.

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Mr. Barton was never married, and has relatives not nearer than nephews and nieces living. His life-size portrait, in recognition of his distinguished and unstinted services to his adopted state, hangs upon the walls of the Hall of Representatives in Jefferson City.

SAMUEL W. RAVENEL.

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MORMON TROUBLES IN CARROLL COUNTY.

To the average citizen the name *Mormon* had a sinister sound, and made impressions very far from the truth. I remember during the winter of 1843-44, a Mormon elder on his way from Hydesburg sought shelter from a snow storm at my father's house in Ralls county, and great was the surprise and disappointment of the young folk to see that he was not equipped like Mephistopheles!

The Mormons had some peculiar views, especially as regards marriage. There had been disturbances in Jackson and Caldwell counties; so when the farmers of Carroll found these people buying land in the east end they were filled with alarm. There was the arrogant assumption of their name "Latter Day Saints," which tended towards unfavorable feeling. The sentiment became almost universal that the Mormons must go. A committee was appointed to confer with citizens of Ray, Clay, Howard, Saline and Chariton counties to ascertain what assistance could be had in case the expulsion of the Mormons should be formally determined upon.

Having received assurance of support, it was thought best to notify the Mormon leader at Dewitt of the course to be pursued by the people of Carroll and the other counties. When the ultimatum was communicated to him, Col. Hinkle threatened to exterminate any and all who should seek to disturb him and his people.

About this time the forces of Carroll county were required in Daviess county to aid in suppressing the Mormons there, and on their return they went into camp at Pleasant Park near Dewitt. This was on the 9th of September. The next morning Col. Hinkle was told that he would be given ten days in which to make up his mind to leave the county peaceably. At the end of that time hostilities would begin and he must take the consequences.

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He coolly replied that he was ready to assume all responsibility. All this time, by boat and wagon, Mormon recruits were pouring into Dewitt, and the timber was full of their "soldiers." The 20th of September was decided upon as date of attack. The law and order forces were to move down the road to the main town, while skirmishers beat the brush. A volley was fired by the Mormon sharpshooters, and the settlers could hear and see a man encouraging the Mormons and telling them to "shoot low." A steady fire was kept up by both sides until a volunteer party sent a sharp volley into the Mormon works, when the man who had been so active was seen to press his hand to his side and disappear. Soon after the Mormons retired to some log houses where they were safe from attack. The Carroll "troops" also returned to their camp to await reinforcements from Ray, Howard and Clay counties, and the return of Hiram Wilcox, who had been sent to Jackson county for a cannon which was to be used to batter down the stockade.

In the interim every effort was made to cut off the Mormons who were trying to reinforce Dewitt. Guards were posted, pickets stationed to prevent the besieged from obtaining supplies sent them from Far West. Affairs began to look serious. Timber was cut for breast works, projectiles for the cannon fashioned of chains, scrap iron and nails. At this time the besiegers had increased to four or five hundred men. The troops were brigaded, military discipline enforced, war was on in earnest. The needs of the army were supplied by the patriotic farmers around Dewitt. The arrival of Mr. Wilcoxson with his cannon was hailed with satisfaction, and it was immediately mounted on a carriage previously prepared.

On the evening of the ninth day Judge Carickson and other citizens of Howard county reached the camp, seeking permission to try to settle the difference without bloodshed. They were allowed to make this proposition: The citizens of the county to purchase at first cost the lots in Dewitt,

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and some tracts of land adjoining—the property of the Mormons—the Mormons to pay for all cattle killed by them, and belonging to the citizens. Their wagons to be loaded during the night, ready to move by ten o'clock next morning, and that no further attempt at settlement in Carroll county should be made by the Mormons.

To these stringent terms Col. Hinkle was loth to agree, but he soon became convinced that resistance was useless, and gave orders to load the wagons for departure.

If "the flight of the Tartars was a sight so grievous and piteous as to melt the stoutest heart," the flight of the Mormons was none the less sorrowful.

The lesson of life is endurance—how much the heart may bear and not break, how much the body suffer and not die—sure the sad-eyed Mormon women have learned that lesson well!

SUSAN H. WHITEMAN.

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THE FIRST SOLDIER PAPER.

In an interesting letter received from Comrade C. L. Fowler, residing in the National Military Home of Kansas, he tells of the first newspaper printed at the front by the soldiers during the Civil War. Mr. Fowler, who was a soldier with the first Iowa Infantry, was chosen to succeed D. E. H. Johnson, the "Rebel" editor of the Macon, Mo., Register. The Iowa troops and several regiments from Illinois arrived in Macon, June 13, 1861, and found here a red-hot "secesh" newspaper, and a flagpole proudly displaying a rebel banner. A large part of the population hereabouts strongly sympathized with the South, and General Porter's Confederate Army was hovering about town.

The first thing the Yankee soldiers did was to cut down the rebel flagpole, and the next to take charge of the rebel newspaper. When the pole fell it attracted the attention or Dr. F. W. Allen, president of Macon College, who looked out the window and saw the pole topple. Later Governor A. M. Dockery was in the midst of his Latin lesson. Dr. Allen was a strenuous Southerner, a small man but a good one. When he saw that pole fall he didn't take time to put on his coat, but rushed down town and offered to lick the whole Yankee army. The soldiers laughed at him, but one man took it a little serious and he and the Doctor came together. In the fall the Doctor lit on top. But he couldn't whip the whole army by himself, so after expressing his opinion concerning foreign troops he left the scene with his head high in the air.

The previous issue of the Register had prophesied Union disaster, and urged the rallying of the Southerners to drive the invaders from "The Sacred Soil of Missouri." The editor offered to melt his type up into bullets and to handle a gun if the Yankees undertook to disturb the quietude of Macon, but when the bluecoats finally appeared it is said

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that the fiery editor left town to "hunt his cow," and forgot to come back.

After casting about for talent the Iowa troops voted Mr. Fowler into the editorial chair. The outfit was quite primitive, consisting of an old-fashioned hand press and a few frames of type, but some of the Iowa men knew the business and Editor Fowler took his quill in hand and filled "Our Whole Union" full of loyal literature. The issue was dated June 15, 1861.

The following paragraph describes the tense situation under which the Register was changed from a rebel into a loyal sheet.

"It is not often that one enters a printing office conducted under precisely the circumstances of the one in which 'Our Whole Union' is now being issued. Men in uniform stand at the cases, a row of gleaming muskets is stacked before the door, with a sentinel on guard. The editor's table is ornamented with a revolver, two bottles of—well—something to sustain a drooping spirit; in short, the only resemblance to a printing office is the click of the type and the music of the press."

The Register's enthusiastic account of the raising of the rebel flagpole the week before was reprinted and underneath it was run a line of death's heads, such as are used on poison labels, to indicate what had happened to that pole when the Yankees came to town.

The price of "Our Whole Union" was $1.50 per copy, cash in advance; advertising was $1.00 a square inch or $60 a column per year. There were no society movements chronicled, because the new editor didn't happen to be acquainted with any of the ladies of the vicinity, and none would volunteer to assist him. The following editorial seems to evince considerable interest in the former editor, supposed to be out looking for his cow:

"Johnson, wherever you are—whether lurking in the dim woods, hunting your cow, or a fugitive on the open plains, good-bye! We never saw you, never expect to see

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you, and never want to see you, but for all of that, old fellow, we are not proud and stuck-up. So, Johnson, good-bye. We are sorry, very sorry, that you would not stay with us, and that you had to skulk away and lose yourself. Johnson, dear unknown enemy, we leave you tonight. We are going where the bullets are thick and mosquitoes thicker. We may never return; if so, old boy, remember us kindly in your dreams. We sat at your table; we stole Latin from your 'Dictionary of Latin Quotations;' we wrote union articles with your rebel pen; printed them with rebel ink on your rebel paper. Our boys set the type, used your galleys, shooting sticks and things. We drank some of your poor whiskey out of your disloyal bottle. Until then we thought of you kindly, but now we swear to lick you on sight. Now, Johnson, after all this you won't forget us, will you? We certainly will not forget you and that awful liquor you left for us to drink. You and your comrades will not be able to disrupt this union with powder and ball, but if you could get together a few barrels of that stuff and distribute it among our loyal soldiers the Lord only knows what might happen to this distracted country."

A diligent inquiry among the older citizens of Macon who lived here in the early days of the war failed to bring to light any information concerning the return of Johnson, and it is presumed that he never came back to claim his newspaper plant. But two copies of "Our Whole Union" are now in existence One is in a glass case in the State House at Des Moines, Iowa. The other is in the possession of an Iowa soldier who helped to get the one issue of the paper out, and who is now living at Muscatine, Iowa. There are no copies to be found here in Macon, where the paper was printed. The advent of the Iowa and Illinois soldiers was regarded with terror by the non-unionists in the vicinity. They supposed that the invaders would ruthlessly slay them on slight provocation and many lit out for the south to escape.

Mr. Fowler states that his experience as a newspaper editor in Macon interested him in the business, and after

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the war he went into it permanently as a means of livelihood. He founded the Stewartsville, Mo., Independent in 1877 and run it successfully for fifteen years. Afterwards he moved to Nebraska and published the Steele City Standard. He remained in the newspaper business as long as he was able to work, and even now, at the age of 70, invalided as he is, he writes most entertainingly.

Regarding the question of priority in publications at the front, which seems at one time to have evoked quite an animated discussion, the Washington Evening Star stated that an Illinois regiment published an Union paper in the fall of 1863, and that it was the first one. To this statement the Twentieth Michigan Infantry offered evidence to prove that its members had printed the "Union Vidette" in Kentucky in April or May, 1863. Then came the Twenty-Sixth Michigan Infantry with proof that it printed "Our Camp Journal" in February, 1863. All of which is frankly admitted and yet Mr. Fowler seems to have been ahead of the other soldier editors by nearly two years.

EDGAR WHITE.

NOTE—The following other Missouri Soldier papers were printed in the State:

Missouri Army Argus, 1861.
Union Democrat—Extra, 1861.
The Normal Picket, 1862.
Cape Girardeau Eagle, 1862.
The War Eagle and Camp Journal, 1862.

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FROM SENATOR DOOLITTLE'S PAPERS.

Some of these letters do not appear to be written by prominent or well-known residents of Missouri. They do, however, touch upon an interesting and vital period of our country's history. And the endorsements received by the friends of President Johnson, as well as the cordial approval of Judge Doolittle's courageous stand in the national halls of legislation, are worthy of something more than passing remark. Few public men, living or dead, would have had the lofty independence and courage of his convictions that possessed the late Senator Doolittle during his entire political career. It is to be noted, to the honor of his memory, that he deliberately severed his public career from his Wisconsin constituents at the behests of conscience. The reconstruction period of our history was a time that tried men's souls. And this great statesman was one whose mental and moral metal was of the purest and the best. His public career is an interesting study for the student of history.

DUANE MOWRY.

Milwaukee, Wis., February 4, 1911.

St. Louis, Mo., September 9th, 1865.

My dear Judge:

By this time, I presume you have digested my letter in answer to your interrogatories. What I said is the result of a long and most intimate association with the Indians. I feel sure that from your disposition, and I trust determination, to better their condition, you will agree with me. I shall be gratified in co-operating with you at all times. To have accompanied you on the journey would have given me great pleasure, but we were just then making preparations for a campaign into Texas. Please present me acceptably to Mrs.

NOTE—Although it does not appear on the letter, this was directed to, and intended for, Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin. D. M.

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Doolittle, and to Miss Doolittle give my affectionate regards. I want to see her and to talk over our triumphs.

Your friend,

JOHN T. SPRAGUE.

To Hon. James R. Doolittle.

St. Louis, November 1, 1865.

Dr. Sir:

I telegraphed you from Chicago yesterday to ascertain if you was at home and rec'd no answer. I am desirous of seeing you. Will you on receipt of this write me when and where I can meet you.

Respectfully,

J. H. LANE.

Hon. Mr. Doolittle, Racine, Wis.

Saint Louis, December 1st, 1865.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir:

Mr. Geo. W. Sturgis of Geneva in your state wants to be Post M on the Atlantic & Mississippi Steamship Co's line from here to New Orleans. He is a very worthy man. Was the Agent of the State at this place during a part of the war—stands well here, would make a good officer and ought to have the appointment. If you can help him you will confer a bounty upon a worthy man and a favor upon me. In 1868 I expect to help nominate and elect you to the Presidency. I always had great faith in your conservatism. If I had been in the State Senate as I should have been upon a fair count of the votes cast I should have voted to continue you where you now are. But I am in Missouri now and in state matters in Wisconsin can neither help nor harm you. I was rejoiced when I read your speeches made during the late canvass in Wisconsin. They were sound. My enclosed business card will advise you what I am doing here.

Very truly yours,

JNO. C. TRUESDELL.

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Columbia, Mo., January 29th, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The views of yourself and Mr. Cowan of Penn'a accord so perfectly with my own, in regard to the proper policies to be pursued, in getting the Government back upon the old pathway, that I must ask the favor of you to send me a dozen or two copies of your speeches, under your frank, if they have to be and have been put up in Pamphlet form. Missouri will stand firmly by the President in the course which he seems to have worked out for himself, and we rely upon such statesmen as yourself and Mr. Cowan to ward off the blows aimed at him by Sumner, Wilson, Howe, etc.

I am very truly,

Your friend,

JAS. S. ROLLINS.

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NOTES.

The Oregon Trails Commission unveiled a monument two miles west of Lanham, Nebraska, at the Kansas-Nebraska State line, which was erected by the State of Nebraska, the people of Washington county, Kansas; Gage and Jefferson counties, Nebraska, and the D. A. R. of Beatrice, Nebraska. The exercises were May 12, 1914, and were participated in by the Governors of both States, Wm. E. Connelly, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, and others.

The Sedalia Capital of May 20, 1914, has an account of marking the grave of Gen. David Thomson, the only veteran of the war of 1812 buried in Pettis county. The grave is two and one-half miles northwest of Georgetown, and the exercises were under the auspices of the Spencer-McClure Chapter of the Daughters of 1812. Gen. Thomson was born August 21, 1775, in Richmond, Virginia, and came to Missouri in 1833, and settled at the place where he was buried. He was the father-in-law of General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia, and for whose daughter, Sarah, the city was named.

A memorial monument to three well-known German editors, Emil Preetorius, Carl Schurz and Carl Daenzer, was unveiled and dedicated in Reservoir Park, St. Louis, Sunday, May 24, 1914. The exercises were participated in by the Mayor of the city, Congressman Bartholdt and other prominent persons.

Among the Volumes received from the bindery by the State Historical Society is one containing the catalog of Elizabeth Aull Seminary of Lexington, Missouri, from 1871 to 1899 when the Seminary closed. The catalog for 1898-99 was to be of 34 pages, and the cover and all but the first four pages had been printed, when it was decided to close the school, and all of the catalogs except one were destroyed, so that the copy that the Society has is absolutely unique.

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CEMETERY RECORDS.

In the last number of the Review mention was made of apparent indifference of the members and editors to the records of Missouri cemeteries which had been printed in numbers of the Review. The following letter from a genealogist shows what persons in that line of work think:

Hopkinsville, Ky., May 18th, 1914.

Mr. F. A. Sampson,

Dear Sir:

I regret very much that you have concluded to discontinue the cemetery inscriptions. To me they are the most valuable part of the Review, and I am sure other members of the Society must appreciate your work in this line as I do. Hoping for the continuation of these records, I am

Very truly,

NANNIE K. STERLING.

David W. Eaton of the United States Coast Survey writes hoping that the publication of the records will be continued, and says "It is of value to the historian, and such lists as you have been publishing, anything that throws light on the past is of value. Take my own case. My wife was a 'Hook,' great granddaughter of Elijah Hook who died in Boonville, and was part owner of the 'Far West,' one of the first steamboats to run on the Missouri river, and my wife found this history from your list that had been lost to the family."

Captain Louis Benecke of Brunswick and several others offer to make copies from local cemeteries, and volunteers for this work are requested, and the publication of lists will be resumed.

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COTTON IN BOONE COUNTY.

In a scrap book made by Professor Broadhead is an article by George Tompkins White of Colorado Springs, taken from the Columbia Herald, the date of which was not preserved, which tells of cotton being formerly grown in Central Missouri. He said that before 1835 it was very common to see persons with large bundles of cotton going up to Howard county to the cotton gin. I understand there were two cotton gins in Howard county that the people went to, but there was none in Boone county. Sometimes after these hard winters, I remember hearing my father say that he met with one of the owners of the cotton gins and he told him that so little cotton had been brought to his gin that he deemed it unnecessary to keep his gin in order for running. * * * * * At my father's place for a number of years it was the habit to have a small cotton patch. My father insisted that when he had a cotton patch he could plant melon seed and in that way was sure to have melons. My mother said she wanted to raise cotton to get her candlewick, for she did not feel disposed to go to the store for it."

Mrs. Tidd, who formerly lived in Columbia, had some cloth that was made from Boone county cotton.

REPRINT OF GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

For several years the State Historical Society has been doing necessary preparatory work for the reprinting of the Governor's messages and proclamations, and this work has made prominent the fact that the State does a great amount of printing, but very little towards the preservation of what is printed. Commencing with the 8th General Assembly in 1834 to the 22nd in 1862, there were 38 messages ordered printed in pamphlet form in numbers varying from 200 to 25,000, amounting in all to 390,400 copies in English, 65,600 in German and 1,500 in French, or a total of 457,500 copies. During the past thirty-five years or longer the Secretary has

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sought for copies of these messages, and has visited most of the court houses in the State, and in all possible ways has tried to get copies of them and yet the Society now has only two of them in English and one in French. To the present time about a million copies have been printed by the State, and by chance a few of them are preserved. For the last twenty years the Secretary has gone to Jefferson City at the close of each session of the Legislature to secure a supply of publications, but if he should be a few hours late, the books and pamphlets left by the members or remaining in the bill rooms, the publications will have already been turned over to the second-hand paper man to be again ground up for printing more things to throw away. Why print five or ten thousand copies and not provide for the preservation of any?

BOUND PAMPHLETS.

The State Historical Society has lately received from the bindery several hundred volumes. In the first shipment delivered were uniformly bound sets of the Revised Statutes of Missouri, the session laws and journals of the Legislature and county histories of the same, and also seventy-three volumes of between sixteen and seventeen thousand bills of the General Assembly of Missouri from 1879 to date, the most of which cannot be found in any other library.

In the last shipment there were 94 volumes of official publications of Missouri, made up of the biennial reports of the various institutions, bureaus and officials, the bulletins issued by some of them, and reports of various kinds; 30 volumes of church minutes, containing more than five hundred separate publications; 14 volumes of annual reports of railroad companies that reach into Missouri; 24 volumes of transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science, and other societies, including the State Press Association from its organization; and 107 volumes of school board reports, college catalogs and college periodicals. Among the first are complete sets of reports of Sedalia and Hannibal, the former from 1868 and the latter 1878; more than 90 volumes of

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college and school periodicals, publications that have been preserved in no other library in such numbers. While at present they would perhaps be looked on as of less value than the same number of volumes in other departments, yet it must be remembered that they contain the record of many facts which are a part of the educational history of the State, the biographies of educators, and the doings and portraits of many who in a generation from the time of publishing will be among the rulers of the State and nation.

In the last shipment were 269 volumes, and these contained 1327 pamphlets, 707 parts or bulletins and 1524 numbers of the periodical publications. There is yet in the bindery a large number of volumes, and more than 1,200 volumes of newspapers.

Some libraries have pamphlets on various subjects bound in the same volume, and then label it, perhaps, "Miscellaneous Pamphlets," arranging them in volumes according to size and not subject. The Society in all its volumes does not have any "Miscellaneous" volumes, but adheres strictly to the subject arrangement. In doing this it is compelled to include in a volume many different sizes, so that the book can be trimmed on the top only.

It would be supposed that the State Press Association would have its transactions of uniform size, but of the four volumes bound by the Society, from the 1st to the 37th, there are hardly two consecutive numbers of the same size, and all volumes can be trimmed on top only.

The State Board of Directors of the Missouri State Fair have printed six biennial reports and these six are in five distinct sizes.

Of the thirty volumes of Church Minutes, including more than five hundred pamphlets, those of the West Missouri Diocese of the Episcopal Church in two volumes were the only ones that could be trimmed on all three sides. It looks as if every Secretary or Clerk had no idea that his publication would be worth binding, and that consequently the size or shape was of no consequence.

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SOLDIERS MEMORIALS.

Some years ago Missouri and Kansas each received from the general government nearly a half million dollars on old war claims. The State Historical Society of Missouri made an active campaign to have the Missouri fund appropriated to the erection of a Soldiers Memorial Building, to be used by the State Historical Society and the University library. The General Assembly, however, gave the fund to the counties to be divided among all the townships for road purposes, altho every one knew that it was practically throwing away a half million of dollars. Now a minute inspection of the entire State could not find the result of ten thousand dollars of that splendid fund.

Kansas acted with more judgment, and put its half million in the erection of a great marble hall of fame consecrated to the memory of the men who went out from the State and gave their lives to their country's service, and this building was dedicated May 27, 1914, to the credit, the joy and the pride of the entire State. There the soldiers who yet survive may meet, and live over again the days of battle, and may deposit the relics and historical objects for preservation, for the pleasure, the enlightenment and the reverence of future times; there the Kansas State Historical Society finds a safe and permanent home for its library and collections, and there kindred organizations are permanently housed. Such a building erected in Missouri would have been more creditable than would have been a mile or two of good roads in each county if Missouri's fund had been honestly appropriated to that purpose. The building erected by Kansas is 185 by 103 feet, with three full sixteen feet stories, basement and an attic story suitable for museum purposes, and the State has the credit of now having the finest and greatest Soldier Memorial in the world. Missouri refused a memorial to its soldiers. There is no marble hall erected to their memory, and those that are yet living have

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no such recognition from the State they served, and they have the knowledge that the State refused it to them when it would not have cost it a cent to have so honored them; and that a fine fund was diverted into ten thousand pockets, and now nothing to show for it.

PALMYRA ROAD.

"Mr. William Muldrow has commenced the long-talked of road from Palmyra to Marion City, and intends to prosecute it to completion. His plan is to build a levee from the warehouse running about half a mile up the river, extending thence across the prairie to the bluff, and there joining the present road. This levee will serve the double purpose of protecting Marion City from inundation, and also making a road which in the highest water will be above the surface. The advantages of this road are so apparent, and have been so much, that it is useless for us to say anything on that head. We believe there are none of our citizens who do not admit that it is a matter of the highest consequence. The resources and industry of Mr. Muldrow are adequate to the work, and if any man can do it, he is the man.

We believe it is in contemplation that the subscriptions which have already been obtained will be used as the work progresses."—The Missouri Whig, Palmyra, Nov. 6, 1845.

NOTE—When Dickens was in this country he was told of the unfortunate story of Marion City, and in Martin Chuzzlewit he describes it under the name of Eden. It has been supposed that Colonel Muldrow was the original of his Wilkins Micawber, but this was not so.

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BOOK NOTICES.

Augustus Charles Bernays. A Memoir. By **Thekla Bernays**, St. Louis. C. V. Mosby Company, 1912.

Dr. Bernays on the paternal side was of Jewish descent. Previous to the time of Napoleon Jews on the Rhine were known only by their given names. Napoleon decreed that the Jews should adopt family names, and the grandfather of Dr. Bernays, and his brother, both of them Jewish rabbis, formed a word from the name of their father and the town he was from, and adopted that as the family name. Their descendants in the course of a hundred years have scattered almost all over the world. Some have remained orthodox Jews; some are of "reformed" Judaism; some are orthodox Christians. By intermarriage with Anglo-Saxon and French, the racial type of Judea is disappearing from some branches of the family. The subject of this memoir was born October 13, 1854 at Highland, Illinois, and for years was a prominent medical writer and teacher in St. Louis. The memoir written by Miss Tekla Bernays, his sister, is an interesting account of his life and tribute to his memory.

Race Culture; Mother and Child. By **Susanna Way Dodds,** A. M., M. D., author of "Health in the Household," "The Reason Why," etc. New York and Passaic, N. J. The Health Culture Company. (c. 1910.)

The Diet Question, giving the reason why. By **Susanna W. Dodds,** A. M., M. D. St. Louis, 1901.

The two above books have lately been added to our collection of Missouri authors by Dr. Mary Dodds, who was associated with her sister-in-law, Susanna, in the practice of medicine and in the establishment of the St. Louis Hygienic College of Physicians and Surgeons in St. Louis.

Dr. Susanna, **nee** Way, was born in Indiana, November 10, 1830, and died in California, January 20, 1911. The

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work first above mentioned was written to teach women the secret of health and happiness, and if every mother would read it and learn from it, the race would be benefited physically, morally and intellectually.

Sociology and Modern Social Problems. By **Charles A. Ellwood,** Ph. D., University of Missouri. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. American Book Company. (c., 1910, 1913.)

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the former publication of Dr. Ellwood. It aims to illustrate the working of the chief factors in social organization and evolution, and shows the elementary principles of sociology, by the study of concrete problems, especially thru the study of the origin, development, structure and functions of the family considered as a typical human institution. To bring out the factors and principles of the social life not illustrated by the family, the author selected mainly from contemporary American society, because the United States affords the greatest sociological laboratory that can possibly be found. The work will be extensively used as a textbook.

Personal reminiscences and fragments of the early history of Springfield and Greene county, Missouri, related by pioneers and their descendants at Old Settlers' dinners given at the home of **Capt. Martin J. Hubble,** March 31, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911.

Springfield, Mo., 1914.

If one of our members or other person in each county seat would follow the example of the one above mentioned in Springfield, and then publish the reminiscences of the old settlers as given by them around the dinner table, a great amount of local history that is now being lost would be preserved, and we cannot too strongly commend Capt. Hubble for publishing the pamphlet of 96 pages with the interesting talks that were made at his home.

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The Jefferson County Republican, Quarter Century Edition, Vol. XXV, No. 15, DeSoto, Mo., April 2, 1914, **W. E. Crow,** Editor and Publisher.

This is a very creditable issue of more than thirty pages, twelve by nine inches in size, and containing about thirty views in and about DeSoto, with valuable reading matter.

Notable Women of St. Louis, 1914. Edited and published by **Mrs. Chas. P. Johnson.** [St. Louis, 1914.]

This is a delightful book by Anne Andre Johnson, the wife of Ex-Lieut. Gov. Johnson of St. Louis, and contains sketches of about sixty-five women of St. Louis who are notable in some field of work, and their achievements are made known as a tribute to them. Full page portraits are given of many of those of whom sketches are given.

Mirmir. An annual published by the senior class of the Kirksville High School. Kirksville Journal Printing Co., 1914.

Charles Banks, Superintendent of the Kirksville schools and a member of this Society, sends us a copy of the above. It is a bound volume of 146 pages, with many full page plates, and a host of photographs of students of the School, some of whom will in future time be prominent in State or national history, and the volume will be of special value because of having such portraits. The publication is one of the finest issued by the schools of Missouri, and is of much credit to the school, the school officials and the printer.

History of the Watson Family in America, 1760-1914. [By **Dr. Clayton Keith,** Louisiana, Missouri.] n. p., n. d.

We have this addition to our collection of Missouri authors and Missouri biography from Dr. Keith, one of our members. It gives the history of the family from an early day in Scotland to the present, and is dedicated to the seven Watsons, who came to Pike county, Missouri, in 1809.

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First Annual Report of the Warehouse Commission of Missouri, April 16, 1913, to December 31, 1913. James T. Bradshaw, State Warehouse Commissioner, Jefferson City. The Hugh Stephens Printing Company. n. d.

The Forty-fourth General Assembly passed a law, approved April 12, 1911, by which the Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners was abolished, and the office of Warehouse Commissioner was created, and James T. Bradshaw was appointed to this office.

The above is the report for 1913, the first report issued in Missouri devoted entirely to the subject of grain inspection and weighing, with a detailed account of the work, and the manner in which it is done, together with the business of the department for the year.

The Society is under obligations for a specially bound copy.

The Story of Old St. Louis by **Thomas Edwin Spencer.** Prepared for the information of persons who expect to witness the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis in Forest Park, St. Louis, 1914. St. Louis (c. 1914.)

The preliminary publication of the above was noticed in the April Review. This has been enlarged to a book of 170 pages, with eight full page plates. Those who saw the pageant should have the book to explain and fix upon the memory the events that were depicted in the celebration of the founding and growth of the city.

Ancestry of John Barber White and of his descendants. Published by **John Barber White** of Kansas City, Missouri. Compiled and edited by **Almira Larken White** of Haverhill, Mass. Press of C. H. Webster, Haverhill, Mass., 1913.

Mr. White was born in Chautauqua county, New York, December 8, 1847, and at an early age engaged in the lumber business, and for years has been a prominent figure in the Missouri and Southern States lumber companies. He is a member of a number of historical societies, and is a student

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of genealogical and family historical matters. He has prepared or assisted in the publication of a number of genealogies, the last being the one above noticed. It is a well printed work of 355 pages and 67 plates of views and portraits. All the lines of his family connections are run back to early times, and hundreds of families are interested in the work, and will be helped in tracing their family histories.

Minnis Family of Ireland and America. Compiled by **Elizabeth Austin,** Genealogist, 1913. Press of the Republican-Record, Carrollton, Missouri.

This publication of 31 pages and 21 plates by one of our members at Carrollton, is of special interest, because so many of the family live in Missouri. It is a welcome addition to our genealogies by Missouri authors.

Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865. By **Harrison Anthony Trexler,** Ph. B., Assistant Professor of Economic History, University of Montana. Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1914. (Johns Hopkins University Studies.)

The above publication of 259 pages, prepared for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is the extended paper of one published in the **Review** for January, 1914, on "The Value and the Sale of the Missouri Slave."

The work is one of the most scholarly and painstaking of all publications relating to facts that have been published about Missouri. Professor Trexler worked in the library of the State Historical Society, and many of the manuscripts, books and newspapers cited in the work were used by him in its library.

Love's Young Dream. By **Maria I. Johnston.** Published by ladies of the St. Louis Chart Club. St. Louis, n. d.

The Siege of Vicksburg. By **Maria I. Johnston.** Boston, 1869.

The two above books have been added to our Missouri author collection by the authoress, now of Hemenway Terrace, Alexandria, Louisiana; but she writes that both were

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written while she resided in St. Louis. The first is of late date, but the first was written soon after the horrors of cave life at Vicksburg during the Civil War. The Society has another work by a Missouri author dealing of the same time and place: "My Cave Life in Vicksburg," by Mrs. James M. Loughborough, of which the first edition was published anonymously in 1864. The Society has both editions.

The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913. By **Jacob Gould Schurman**, Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1914. 140 pp. $1.00 net.

As early as 1326 the Turks made the great European city of Brusa capitulate to a son of the first Sultan, and other cities in succeeding years were added to the Sultan's empire. In 1389 on the field of Kossovo, the Christian army of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, Poles, Magyars and Vlachs were vanquished by the Moslems, and after more than five centuries the Montenegrins continued to wear black on their caps in mourning of that fatal day.

For centuries the Turks ruled their European subjects for tribute and plunder, and during the nineteenth century the independent states of Greece, Servia, Roumania and Bulgaria were established, and these with the aid of the Montenegrins drove the Turks back into Asia, leaving them only the city of Constantinople and the fortifications defending it.

These lectures by President Schurman will be welcomed by all who wish to understand the history and status of these far eastern European countries.

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NECROLOGY.

Hon. Arthur Mason Allen was born in Fairfax county, Virginia, January 14, 1831, moved to Kansas City in 1855, and two years later married a daughter of Allen B. H. McGee of Westport. A year later he was made a director of the Westport School, and continued such for thirty years. In 1859 he was appointed principal of the Westport School, and in 1879 became the presiding judge of the Jackson County Court. In 1881 he was a member of the House in the Thirty-first General Assembly of Missouri, and in the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth General Assemblies he was a member of the Senate and later was a member of the Democratic State Central Committee. He was one of the founders of the Allen Library, Westport avenue and Wyandotte street, Kansas City. After a long illness he died at his home, 4131 Oak street, May 12, 1914.

Hon. George W. Crawford was born near Bangor, Pennsylvania, May 8, 1838. During the Civil War he served in the Fifty-first Pennsylvania Infantry, and at the close of the war located at Marshall, Michigan, where he married. He came to Missouri in 1868, and was elected a member of the Thirty-third General Assembly, 1887, from the western district of Pettis county, where for twenty years he lived upon a farm; later he lived in Lamonte, and the last three years in Sedalia, where he died April 1, 1914, the last survivor of a family of fifteen children.

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